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and Ministers

The Causes and Treatment of Backwardness

by

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Psychologist to the London County Council.*

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Editorial Comments

FREEBORN GARRETTSON

THE PRESENT year marks the Bicentenary of Freeborn Garrettson, who has been described as second only to Francis Asbury in the establishment of Methodism in America.¹ If the chief function of history is to teach men to be free, as Prof. T. E. Jessop maintains, then this wealthy young aristocrat who became a travelling preacher, himself made history. He was born in 1752, near the mouth of the Susquehanna River, in Maryland. His grandfather was one of the first settlers on the western shore of Chesapeake Bay and from him he inherited a love of freedom, which his parents did not quite understand. Their rigid and conventional attitude to religion, coupled with their natural anxiety for the boy, made them fearful of his independence which they mistook for 'pride, self-will, and stubbornness'.

It was just about the time that he was leaving school that the first Methodist preachers began to make an impression on the people of Maryland. Young Garrettson went to a neighbour's house to meet Robert Strawbridge, and stayed till midnight, listening eagerly to his conversation, and finding himself aware of spiritual problems he could not solve. His sensitive soul responded to the personal appeals and challenges of George Shadford and Francis Asbury when they preached. Though he was scrupulous in the observance of ordinances, fasting and praying regularly, his heart was troubled and he could find no peace. When he heard Asbury he said: 'His doctrine seemed as salve to a festering wound. . . I was ready to cry out "How does this stranger know me so well?"'

In spite of the disapproval of his father, he continued to go to hear the Methodist preachers and it was after he had listened to a sermon by 'honest, simple Daniel Ruff' that he came to the great crisis of his early life. Riding home, he felt himself torn 'by two spirits. . . The good spirit set forth the beauties of religion and the enemy dressed religion in as odious a garb as possible.' He dismounted and fell on his knees at the edge of a lonely wood. The struggle was very real and for a long time he argued with his Maker. If only he could have twelve months to put his affairs in order, six months, one month, one week . . . but always the Inner Voice said plainly: 'This is the time.' Then he yielded to temptation. God was hard, too hard! He rose from his knees, mounted his horse and rode on, muttering: 'I will take my own time, and then I will serve Thee.' But before he had ridden a quarter of a mile, he felt that God was giving him a last chance. 'I do believe if I had rejected this call, mercy would have been taken from me. . . I threw the reins of my bridle on my horse's neck, and putting my hands together, cried out: "Lord, I submit." I was less than nothing in my own sight. . . I saw beauty in the perfection of the Deity, and I felt the power of faith and love that I had ever been a stranger to before'.

It was a dramatic moment. Alone, on horseback, this young mystic, who was to spend a great part of his life in the saddle as a 'circuit rider', surrendered his whole being to his Master. It was a strange 'conversion,' but it was certainly thorough. The immediate consequence had also its touch of drama. On Sunday

¹ *Freeborn Garrettson* - Ezra S. Tipple (Eaton & Mains)

morning he gathered his household, as usual, for prayer. The slaves from the estate came with the rest. His *Journal* records what followed: 'As I stood with a book in my hand in the act of giving out a hymn this thought powerfully struck my mind: "It is not right for you to keep your fellow creatures in bondage, you must let the oppressed go free." I knew it was that same blessed Voice which had spoken to me before; till then I had never suspected that the practice of slavekeeping was wrong; I had not read a book on the subject or been told of any. I paused a minute and then replied: "Lord, the oppressed shall go free."' Looking at the negroes he told them, in simple words, that they did not belong to him. He did not want them to work for him without wages. 'I was now at liberty to worship,' he says. 'After singing I kneeled to pray. . . . All my dejection vanished in a moment and a divine sweetness ran through my whole frame. . . . It was the blessed God that taught me the rights of man.'

The next stage of his spiritual development was marked by severe personal conflict. There was much that attracted him in the preaching of the Methodists, but part of his nature found its deepest satisfaction in fasting and solitary meditation. He might have become a monk or a Quaker more easily than a Methodist, but for the fact that he kept hearing a call to preach. For many months he struggled to escape. His first efforts at witness-bearing had not been convincing either to himself or his audiences. Writing ten years later to John Wesley he said: 'I wanted to live in retirement, and had almost got my own consent to sell what I had in the world and retire to a cell. . . . I was worn away to a skeleton.' In his heart he felt he ought to preach the Gospel, but he shrank from the prospect in horror. Again he argued with the Voice! There were others more fitted. He was too ignorant. But the Voice persisted till at last he cried out: 'Lord, if Thou wilt go with me I will go to the ends of the earth, or to the very mouth of hell, to preach the blessed Gospel.' For the second time he had fought an obstinate battle which had ended in his complete surrender.

In 1776 he was received into the Methodist ministry and for the next fifty years he was a 'travelling preacher' ranging a continent, suffering continual hardships, but rejoicing every day. The persecutions he endured were almost apostolic: 'Once I was imprisoned; twice beaten, left on the highway speechless and senseless; once shot at; guns and pistols presented at my breast; once delivered from an armed mob in the dead of night by a surprising flash of lightning; surrounded frequently by mobs; stoned, I have had to escape in the darkness.'

Like all Methodists he was suspect during the war because Wesley's attitude in his pamphlet *Calm Address to the American Colonies* was presumed to be the attitude of his followers. This was certainly not true in the case of many of the American preachers who, though they refused to bear arms, were never propagandists for the English army. From 1776 to 1784, in spite of persecution and the war itself, Garrettson rode through Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina 'awakening' the people and leading them to a personal spiritual experience. In 1785 he was sent to Nova Scotia where William Black, a Yorkshireman, had established a Methodist Society five years before. It was a grim struggle for Freeborn Garrettson, tramping with his heavy knapsack through storms and floods, over wild mountains and across treacherous swamps, sleeping in the open in bitter weather, and, as always, paying all his expenses himself. 'But, thank God, He was with me and in every place His power was felt. . . .

I never for a moment regretted the hardship of my lot in that cold, wild country.' Before he left Nova Scotia he had formed a small Conference of preachers, and had the satisfaction of knowing there were more than six hundred members. As he was leaving he ended his *Journal* with these words: 'My little funds were so reduced I had to sell part of my little travelling library, and had but one guinea left.'

During the next thirty years he proved himself as statesman and preacher. He had his share in the shaping of American Methodism, though his work was done so graciously that it is easy to underestimate his power. There was nothing of the showman about him, and he spoke with the utmost modesty when referring to his own work as a preacher, but he was quite capable of swaying crowds of three and four thousand people on occasion.

After his appointment to the Dutchess District in 1794 he settled at Rhinebeck, and from there exercised his wonderful ministry. In the New York Conference he was always an outstanding figure, but still remained an itinerant, covering a wide area, travelling at large, bringing blessing wherever he came. His house, Wildercliffe, built on a hill on the east bank of the River Hudson, commanded magnificent views but it was the atmosphere of the home, itself, which caused Bishop Asbury to rename it 'Traveller's Rest'. The wife of Freeborn Garrettson was to American Methodism what the Countess of Huntingdon was to the religious life of England. Coming from a distinguished and wealthy family, Catherine Livingston Garrettson devoted herself to the creation of a home and the maintenance of home life which was a benediction to the constant stream of visitors who came—statesmen, soldiers, scholars, travelling preachers, and humble wayfarers. The cynic might have said, as Walpole said of Lady Margaret Hastings, 'she threw herself away on a Methodist preacher', but her ministry at 'Traveller's Rest' would be a complete contradiction of such a judgement. Cultured and gracious, the mistress of a beautiful and happy home, Catherine Garrettson was intensely practical: 'If any of our brethren should want linen send me the measure of the wrist and collar,' she wrote to her husband. 'I have a remnant of linen which will make two shirts and treasure an inclination to serve them.'

In remembering the bicentenary of this pioneer preacher, we are remembering two people whose lives were consecrated to the work of emancipation. Slavery, whether physical, mental, or spiritual, was abhorrent to them. Not only did Garrettson set free the slaves on his estate, but he influenced the Conference of 1780 to pronounce slavery to be 'contrary to the laws of God, man and nature, and hurtful to society'. It passed its 'disapprobation on all who keep slaves' and 'advised their freedom'.

A NOTABLE JUBILEE—THE HIBBERT JOURNAL

IN OFFERING our congratulations to the Editor of the *Hibbert Journal* on the Jubilee Number, published in July,¹ we remember with gratitude the work of Dr L. P. Jacks, Editor from 1902 to 1947, and Dr G. Stephens Spinks, Editor from 1948 to 1951. In a brilliant comparison of Objectives in 1902 and 1952, Dr Spinks stresses two changes in thought and belief—'a deep unsettlement in men's confidence in human nature' and, even more significant, 'the fading away of belief in

¹ *The Hibbert Journal*, No. 199, July 1952 - Edited by L. A. Garrard - Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d.

progress'. The western world, he feels, holds that Christianity is irrelevant because it provides answers to questions in which the modern mind has no interest. 'This is not because it has examined the Christian answers and found them invalid, but because it has ignored them in its search for salvation by other means. But the Baalim of Quantity, Size and Number have no breath in their souls.' That is why the late Editor feels that the future function of the *Hibbert Journal* is to be an Interpreter—showing *which* questions call for *what* answers.

As the present Editor faced his problem of producing this Jubilee Number, which was to be largely a selection of articles from the previous one hundred and ninety-eight issues, he had to choose from the contributions of more than two thousand writers. They represented many schools of theology, and included some of the world's greatest philosophers and political leaders during the past fifty years. We feel the selection has been most successfully and wisely made. Articles by William James, Tolstoy, G. K. Chesterton, Dr H. D. A. Major, Kirsopp Lake, Aldous Huxley, Sir Oliver Lodge, Dr L. P. Jacks, Dean Inge, Dr Spinks, Dr Heinemann, and Dr E. L. Allen, furnish a treasure-house of old and new—a wealth of material, catholic and liberal enough in outlook to satisfy most readers. We are glad to have this number—a *pot-pourri* from which comes a rare perfume of other days but, at the same time, a stimulant for the days to come. Our hope is that the present Editor and the *Hibbert Journal* may continue to interpret Truth as the child of love and the parent of duty to a generation so often in bondage to false standards. In the name of the readers of the LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW we offer our cordial good wishes to Dr L. A. Garrard and his staff.

It was interesting to be reminded by Dr Spinks that Robert Hibbert once owned four hundred slaves, and that part of the original capital of the Hibbert Trust, founded in 1847, came from the sale of sugar plantations, worked by negro slaves in Jamaica. The income of the Trust was to be used for 'the spread of Christianity in its most simple and intelligible form'. Amongst the results of this benefaction must be numbered scholarships, summer schools, the Hibbert Lectures, the *Hibbert Journal*, and, during the second World War, the Hibbert Houses, which were such a boon to service men in the Middle East. 'Slavery has left the Western world with a double legacy—derivative benefactions and bitter racial memories,' says Dr Spinks, but whilst pointing out the shocking indifference of large sections of the Christian community to the iniquities of slavery, he says there were many honourable exceptions. Amongst these we would include John Wesley, who spoke of 'the execrable sum of all villainies, commonly called the slave-trade'. In America people like Francis Asbury and Freeborn Garrettson were unflinching in their appeal for abolition. It is perhaps less well known that General James Oglethorpe withstood the continual demand for 'black labour' in the early days of the founding of Georgia. Though the Trustees responsible for the philanthropic experiment in the new colony secured, in 1735, 'An Act rendering the Colony of Georgia more defensible by Prohibiting the Importation and use of Black Slaves or Negroes into the same,' the demand steadily increased.^a Encouraged by the example of Carolina, some of the settlers petitioned the Trustees to rescind the Act, but Oglethorpe remained adamant in his opposition and was supported by the Salzburghers and the colonists at Darien and Frederica. 'The idle ones indeed are for negroes,' he wrote. 'If the petition is countenanced the Province is ruined.' It was Oglethorpe

^a Oglethorpe: *A Study of Philanthropy in England and Georgia* - Leslie F. Church (Epworth Press).

the life-long opponent of slavery who wrote to Sharp, the abolitionist, praising him for his warm advocacy of the rights of mankind in his book *The Law of Retribution*. The Georgia Trustees in stating the case against slavery used ten arguments, all based on economic or strategic principles, but it was Oglethorpe, who looked on the problem from the moral standpoint, and it was chiefly his influence which banned negro labour for eighteen years, saving the first period of the growth of the colony.

WILBERT F. HOWARD

THE PASSING of the Rev. Wilbert F. Howard, M.A., D.D., F.B.A., has been a great loss to the whole Christian Church. His scholarship and his great administrative gifts were equally well known in the British Commonwealth and in the United States of America. If Freeborn Garrettson and James Oglethorpe fought valiantly to abolish one kind of slavery, Dr Howard was as gallant a warrior in the campaign to free men's minds from their bondage to falsehood or to partial truth.

Many of the readers of this REVIEW counted him a personal friend and the present writer, after an intimate association with him for half a lifetime, finds it particularly hard to write of his life and work as though it were ended. He who took up the unfinished task of another great New Testament scholar has handed on his own contribution to be continued by men whom he trained. His passionate search for anything that might help in the interpretation of the Christian faith never ceased, for he was one of the most conscientious of men. Few have contributed more to the critical apparatus of the biblical students of today.

But Wilbert Howard thought not only as a statesman and a teacher, but also as a disciple. It was Horace Bushnell who once said: 'There is no fit search after truth which does not, first of all, begin to live the truth which it knows.' So one recalls him in many roles but always as a man pledged to serve Truth as a shepherd of souls.

It was the writer's privilege to share the platform with him at many non-academic gatherings. There was a memorable occasion when he addressed the Welsh Assembly and interpreted Matthew Arnold in the light of the New Testament message. Another memory, which does not fade, is connected with a Cornish Fellowship, meeting annually at Newquay. It was composed of men and women of very different ages and varying intellectual equipment, but one can remember how they all fell under the spell of this teacher who spoke with the voice of authority, yet in the accents of a friend.

In the Jubilee number of the *Hibbert Journal* he contributed three characteristic reviews of recent books. Modern reviewing is not always as candid in its criticism as was the case a generation ago, but Dr Howard was completely honest in giving an opinion, and in these short articles—amongst the last he ever wrote—he is scrupulously fair, generous in his appreciation, and caustic in his rebukes.

The academic world was enriched by his painstaking scholarship, the Church was strengthened by his fearless witness, and the ordinary folk heard him gladly. We treasure our more intimate memories in the sure and certain hope that we shall know him again when time and space no longer limit us, but where Truth endures eternally.

LESLIE F. CHURCH

Articles

DR WILBERT F. HOWARD, F.B.A.

An Appreciation¹

DR HOWARD will live in the minds of some of us as the scholar ; of others as the preacher ; of others again as a potent voice in Conference, or as one whose far-sighted wisdom and counsel made him at once a father and a brother, one of those who bless others by the ideals they cherish and the standards they uphold. Met as we are in this chapel, we naturally recall his connexion with it from the years when he became a minister here in 1914. But we must go farther back. He was educated at King Edward's School in Birmingham, in the brave days of A. R. Vardy, when to perpetrate a false quantity was only short of committing a mortal sin. While there, he lived for some time with Dr W. T. Davison, then a tutor at Handsworth College, a volume of whose essays it was later one of Dr Howard's many tasks to edit and produce. In the young and vigorous church close to the college he found a fine combination of thorough scholarship, ecclesiastical adventurousness and, in the best sense of that over-worked word, spiritual culture.

In 1901 he offered as a candidate for the Ministry, and he did not return to Handsworth till 1914. But much had happened between. He spent his three student years at Didsbury. At the beginning of his second year James Hope Moulton came to that college as classical tutor. He brought an enthusiasm for the study of the Greek Testament to the whole college ; but to none more than to Wilbert Howard. Moulton's work on the grammar of the New Testament was indeed a tribute of filial piety. His father, one of the revisers of 1881, and a close friend of Lightfoot and Westcott, was the translator of the standard work by Winer, *The Grammar of New Testament Greek* ; but as the years went by and knowledge accumulated, the need for somewhat drastic editing was apparent. Who could undertake the duty more fitly than his son, writing as he did with knowledge and industry, a fertile imagination, and a rigorous critical conscience? More of that *Grammar* later.

After two years in Glasgow, Howard was back in Didsbury as President's assistant, to work for another year under that virile influence ; and when, after six years in London and Manchester, he came as minister to Handsworth on the outbreak of the first World War, he was acting as Moulton's colleague on the earlier volumes of the work which no scholar could overlook. At Handsworth he remained till the war was almost over. His intrepid union of familiar circuit and pastoral routine with untried war work, his sympathy with all the suffering and the perplexed around him, his unshaken faith, his masterly and massive sermons, his delight in the little family which brought a new brightness to the manse, bound him to his people with a peculiar intimacy. The next year was spent at Wallasey on the Mersey ; and in 1919, when Handsworth College, after being closed for three years, was reopened, he came there as Tutor in New Testament Languages and Literature ; and at Handsworth he remained first as tutor and then as Principal for thirty-one years.

¹ Based on an address delivered at the Memorial Service, on 29th July 1952, in Somerset Road Chapel, Handsworth, Birmingham.

II

The work of the *New Testament Grammar* now rested entirely on his shoulders. Half way through the war, James Moulton had been killed by enemy action at sea; and the whole responsibility for the not yet half-completed work was handed over, by his family and his publishers, for editing, extending, and completing, to this young and as yet unknown scholar. Winer's monumental grammar had appeared nearly a hundred years ago. The first edition of Dr W. F. Moulton's translation was published in 1870, ten years before the Revised Version of the New Testament surprised the English public. But by one of the ironies of scholarship, the immense stores of papyri, which were to affect every part of our knowledge of the *koine* or common language of the world in which the books of the New Testament were written, only began to be generally available toward the end of the century.

When Dr W. F. Moulton died in 1898, his son, Dr J. H. Moulton, a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, was becoming widely known as an expert in the new science of papyrology, as well as one of the best classics and philologists of his time. Commissioned to re-write Winer (nothing less was called for) he produced Volume I, *Prolegomena*, in 1906. When he died, much material for the body of the work to form Volume II had been collected and in part written out; but the work of editing and preparing for the press fell on Howard, as well as much new matter and a very important section on 'Semitisms in the New Testament.' Part I of Volume II came out in 1919, just as the editor was taking up his own new work at Handsworth College; followed the year after by the second part.

The third, with contents and indices, came out in 1929. Full account had to be taken of elaborate works which had appeared after Dr Moulton's death; and it is worth remarking that, while Howard never claimed to be a Semitic scholar, the exhaustive appendix on Semitisms covered seventy pages; the indices filled another fifty pages. Normally, a work of this nature, covering a territory almost unknown when Winer wrote and only partially known to Dr J. H. Moulton, would have been the whole-time business of a man of learned leisure, or perhaps a Canon of Bocking. We have no such posts in the Free Churches.

III

It cannot be denied that as regards both time and place, the centre of Dr Howard's interest for nearly half his life was Handsworth; and those who knew him there could appreciate the more his achievements in other spheres, where they could not follow him. Every tutor has his own conception of what a tutor's relation should be to his students. This at all events is true of all the tutors I have known. Wilbert Howard's conception was certainly his own. It was a combination of intimacy and detachment, founded on a loving yet critical study such as he would bestow on a text in the Fourth Gospel. There was nothing that he would not do for a man if it would assist or inspire him; there was nothing he would not say to a man if he felt it was needed. He could be stern, yet infinitely patient; never, in New Testament words, giving up hope. And his judgements were borne out by the later careers of his men. I have no doubt that what he said about them would often have surprised them had they heard it. But it was not necessary to sit in his classroom to feel, again and again, the abiding power of the thoughts

that breathed there, and the words that burned. Nor, to my knowledge, did he ever forget a face, a name, a date, or the outstanding facts of an old student's career. And how effective the sharp, yet not unkind, irony by which he could put the student critic, in private and even in public, in his place, and convince him that, important as might be the views of the students on the tutors, the tutors' views of the students mattered far more. However subtle the attack, the riposte was the more effective.

Dr Howard's father was a Methodist minister 'of the old school,' stern, inflexible, and a high Tory, who feared nothing but God, and who was always ready to pray, to preach, and to die. The student of heredity will find much material for thought here. But let no one suppose that what shone in the father grew dim in the son. Any man could be forgiven, if forgiveness were needed, for thinking that above all else Wilbert Howard valued the chance of preaching the Gospel, whether in a Cathedral—Methodist or other—or a wayside pulpit; and what sermons they were, and what journeys he would take to deliver them. But to hear his addresses in the college chapel or to sit in the room where he passed from expounding Greek tenses in the morning to leading a class-meeting in the evening, was to know the man of God in whose presence you sat. We watched him day by day and hour by hour, never unemployed, never triflingly employed, and, as if he would gather into one all the twelve Rules of a Helper, with all his wits about him. So did the true-born son of Wesley spend his every sacred moment in publishing the sinner's Friend.

This for all the college world; but in the nature of things it was given to few to know Wilbert Howard as a colleague. Some men are made to work with others; some are not. My own impression (I never discussed the matter with him) was that he belonged to the second class. He was born to lead, to commend. Everyone who has known him in the last ten years is aware of that. His thoughts moved quickly and confidently over a wide space, as quickly as at times he would run for a bus or a train, to their conclusion. He did not find it easy to stop and think out the difficulties of others. But he knew that colleagues must be met with patience; and he also understood, I fancy, that this was the best means of getting his own way. In his thirty years at Handsworth there were many large decisions to be made; and it is not the largest subjects only that may cause the acutest divisions. Yet I never heard an ill-considered word pass the barrier of his teeth. A tutor must think not on his own interests, but on the interests of his colleagues and his students; tutors must in honour prefer one another. No Pauline words were understood by Wilbert Howard better than these. It would of course be absurd to say that he never made what others thought were mistakes. Paul himself could disagree with Barnabas and Peter somewhat sharply. But both Barnabas and Peter knew that they had to do with one who was ready, if need be, to go through fire and water with and for them. I shall not forget how when I had to get rid of some of my duties, I could think of no one who would discharge them better than he; and he, with his plate, as he would have said, quite full, piled them one above the other.

IV

And now to turn to the wider fields miscalled academic. In 1919, the year of his installation at Handsworth, he crossed the Atlantic (the first of several journeys)

to take up the post of Visiting Professor of Hellenistic Greek at Drew Theological Seminary. Later on, in 1932, he was sent by the Conference to America, on a lecturing and preaching tour, when the wisest advocacy was needed to commend to our brethren across the ocean the good name of a people who still believed in the League of Nations, and thought that they had won the war. He had already found himself in close touch with German scholars who learnt something fresh of England and of English thought when they found themselves his guests. He had his part to play—not a small one—in making the study of theological subjects feel at home in the University of Birmingham, and later he became a lecturer in Hellenistic Greek and the New Testament when the Faculty of Theology for which he had laboured was formed. He examined regularly for other Universities. He won the degree of B.D. with first-class honours at the University of London, and in 1929 his D.D. there; St. Andrews and Manchester gave him their honorary doctorates of divinity. He delivered the Dale Memorial Lectures at Mansfield College, Oxford, in 1940, on 'Christianity according to St. John'. He was chosen as Select Preacher at Cambridge University in 1947. In 1947 also he received the Burkitt Bronze Medal from the British Academy; two years later the same distinguished body made him one of its Fellows.

This in itself is a noteworthy list of distinctions, which any man might envy. It is the more remarkable when we reflect that Howard's life was not in the ordinary sense of the word 'academic' at all. Our colleges know nothing of the ample and leisurely vacations of the Universities. Professorships, in the technical sense of the word, are unknown among us. If a tutor does his work conscientiously it will take up every hour of his working day, to say nothing of the week-end appointments which Howard never dreamed of trying to avoid. Nor is the list of his published words, as such lists go, a large one. Besides the two volumes of the Moulton's *Grammar* already referred to, are the Fernley Lecture of 1931, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, and the Drew Lectures for 1949, *The Romance of New Testament Scholarship*. In addition to these are two closely packed commentaries on the two epistles to the Corinthians in the *Abingdon Bible Commentary*, a host of articles to both learned and popular magazines, and valuable little treatises on the Acts and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

What marks the writer's work is that he appears to have read every single book in English or German or French that bore on his subject. In the Fernley lecture there are ten pages of bibliography, and no book or article is numbered which the author has not read. Not the least valuable of his more fugitive works are his surveys of recent literature. Many an author has learnt to be thankful, though with bated breath, for a review by Wilbert Howard, whose hawk-like eye never missed an erratum or a misprint. His old school honoured itself when it appointed Dr Howard one year as its Bailiff. He was a Governor of the School for nearly twenty years.

v

The time is not yet come to assess the permanent value of his work for the world of New Testament scholarship. It will never be easy to do so, save for those who can read what is between the lines and at the bottom of the page. One might indeed suppose at times that Howard had no greater ambition than to chronicle the work of others in his field. If he had done no more than this, he would have

given us what few have attempted with anything like his exactness and detail. The edifice of scholarship rises slowly, stone on stone; nor is it easy to say whether a stone is or will be rightly laid until the place of every stone has been pondered. The true builder of the cathedral of knowledge cannot afford to overlook the work of any of his predecessors, and, in their degree, he must reverence them all. Howard's surveys are no collections of isolated judgements; each writer, even the least important, is seen in reference to the rest and to the whole; and there emerge, instead of a number of preferences or assents, views of the many-sided truth whose stern 'either/or' will never banish the wiser 'or both'.

As regards the *Grammar*, this almost goes without saying. If the two Moultons—it is not a wholly baseless fancy—represented two types of scholarship, Howard united them in himself. He was scrupulously just to all the parties whom he summoned into his court, to Bultmann as to Stanton. He was not only the judge, but the advocate of all who appeared there. But when he gave his verdict—and he was never afraid to do this—you felt that every available piece of evidence had gone to its making.

This is equally true of the two volumes on the Fourth Gospel. There are pages in each of them which would doubtless have startled the orthodoxy of half a century ago. And the author's very desire for fairness led him now and then, it may be, to overstate the side which would be less welcome to those he cared most about. But he was as hostile to the merely destructive as he was to the meretricious and clever. He never minimized the difficulty of holding that the Fourth Gospel, as we have it, was written by the son of Zebedee. But he was equally clear that the author was in a position to carry us right back to Jerusalem and Galilee.

In these two books the reader will find every question raised in present-day Johannine discussion dealt with, often with brevity, never with carelessness or haste. Inevitably, the last word is not always spoken. At times, the reader will wish for fuller consideration in the pages of his full-dress commentary on the Fourth Gospel for which we were told that we should still have to wait for some years. But with Dr Howard, as with Dr J. H. Moulton, the New Testament exegete always dwells with the classical scholar and the man of letters; not always with the philosopher. Dr Moulton indeed took a kind of perverse delight in pushing philosophy to one side. But criticism always passed into interpretation, and interpretation into the proclamation of the Message. The exegete, the scholar, the man of letters, was also the preacher; that is, he knew that all his studies were only of value when they led men, as they had led him, to the eternal Word.

VI

Lastly, something must be said of Howard's work for the Methodist Connexion. I have referred already to his visit to the States in 1932, when he was sent as Fraternal Delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Here he made or deepened friendships which were destined to be of great importance in the future. Another seven years, and the war broke out. In 1941 he was left in sole charge of the college and all the new problems which the war raised. In 1944 he found himself in the chair of the Conference. Those were days in which precedents (on which the occupant of the chair is wont to rely almost as heavily

as on the Secretary of the Conference himself) were of no avail. The new circumstances called ruthlessly not only for counsel but for decisions; and, like the young Xenophon, passing, as Lord Bacon loved to recall, from the scholar's seat to command of one of the most striking military operations of antiquity, his guidance was universally applauded. He was followed in the chair by a friend almost as close as was his wife's brother, Charles Bedale, who died just before his release from the army twenty-five years before. But Archibald Harrison was called home in the middle of his year of office, and Howard stepped back into his place. No sooner was he free from these onerous duties than he had to prepare for the Ecumenical Conference at Springfield, U.S.A., in 1947, where he was joint chairman; and the same exhausting role had to be played in the Ecumenical Conference in Oxford last year. Those who were behind the scenes would find it hard to say how much of its results was, or rather was not, due to his wisdom and foresight. While he kept himself in the background, he pointed the way to one decision after another. Indeed, as an acute observer has said, men had come to look for his opinion and then to adopt it, even in matters of which till then he had had but little experience. Many men in the last century and a half have been called fathers in the Conference; few could have deserved the title better than Wilbert Howard.

The war over, it fell to him to set the college once more on its feet. All his other colleagues had gone. Those who took their place know with what tact and firmness, in days when every student offers a special problem of his own, the new society was welded together. And when, only a year ago, he laid down his office, for all the regrets, there was no sadness of farewell. His spirit, they could say, still was theirs.

His work in the foundation and organization of the Society for New Testament Study had helped to prepare him for the wide co-operation with New Testament scholars in the recently formed Panel for New Testament revision. How the two Moultons, father and son, would have rejoiced to see him engaged in it! It seemed likely to keep him, with others, at work for a dozen years or more. And he could give himself to the authoritative edition of the Fourth Gospel, which was to appear in the famous Macmillan series; and smaller publications without end. But even his great physical strength had its limits. He was admitted to hospital in Cambridge in July for what threatened to be peritonitis, and within a fortnight he had passed quietly away. What memories he has left, to those who have watched him on the cricket field, or have caught sight of his midnight lamp; or marvelled at the erudition which would have graced any chair in his chosen territory, or chuckled at his stories and his jests; or kindled at his flame their scorn of indolence, pretentiousness, and cowardly acquiescence, and their love of the truth which is freedom and life.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE

THE SCHOLAR AS AN EVANGELIST

IT CANNOT be gainsaid that there have been few greater tributes accorded to the scholar than that paid by Robert Browning in his *A Grammarian's Funeral*.

'What's in the scroll,' quoth he, 'thou keepest furled ?

Show me their shaping,

Theirs who most studied man, the bard and sage,—

Give!—So, he gowned him,

Straight got by heart that book to its last page;

Learned, we found him.

Yea, but we found him bald too.

Yea, this in him was the peculiar grace

(Hearten our chorus!)

That before living he'd learn how to live—

No end to learning;

Earn the means first—God surely will contrive

Use for our earning.

This man decided not to Live but Know—

Sir John Edwyn Sandys' three-volume *History of Classical Scholarship*, which every thoughtful preacher should have in his library, gives many a fascinating picture of the patient, accurate, devoted scholar busy with his lifelong task.

I. THE GENIUS OF THE SCHOLAR

When Alexander Pope made his famous translation of Homer, Richard Bentley, the great Greek scholar, said wickedly: 'A pretty poem, Mr Pope, but you mustn't call it Homer.' Here you have a good deal of the genius of the scholar expressed in a sentence. He is the master of first-hand knowledge in some particular field. He is almost microscopic in his meticulousness. He always goes back to primary sources and is never contented with secondary authorities. Nothing is too small for his attention. It is his aim to know completely everything that can be known in some particular field, however small. He is a person of infinite patience. He is a man of exhaustless and exhausting industry. He has a great distaste for superficial generalizations. He is the constant foe of statements which are not soundly based upon facts which cannot be disputed. He is particularly unhappy in the presence of brilliancy which is a substitute for clear and dependable knowledge. In his impatience he is likely to develop a very biting tongue as we have already seen in the case of Richard Bentley. We may add another example. A critic, whom we will call Mr X, once said that A. E. Housman was the first scholar in Europe. 'It is not true,' declared Housman, 'and if it were Mr X would not know it.' Vitriolic bitterness could scarcely go farther. But what the scholar hates is always an indirect indication of what he loves. He loves intellectual soundness. He loves unhesitating honesty of mind. He loves the relentless pursuit of the illusive fact. He is likely to be arrogant. But the arrogance in a true scholar is the protective covering of an inner humility. When Kittredge was in the midst of his great days at Harvard, it is said that he commanded respect more than affection. The students laughed at him one day when he walked too far and fell off the platform. He looked at them angrily and then said: 'This is the first time I ever reduced myself to the level of

my audience.' But as Gilbert Highet remarks: 'Antagonism was one of the responses he wished to provoke. He intended to challenge his students with the difficulties of good literature and make them humble in the pursuit of greatness.' The true scholar is afraid of over-emphasis and fears the sparkle on the surface which does not indicate the presence of real understanding. He is at his best when he is sharing his ideals and his standards with the young men whom he is teaching. In his day Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch attracted larger audiences than came to hear any other lecturer at Cambridge. And his lectures lost none of their power when put into print. 'It was magical to hear his lectures delivered,' says one of his old pupils, '... and this magic had some alchemy distilled into it which carried it unimpaired over the awkward transition from the spoken to the written word . . . (his) hearers and his readers were at once brought under a kind of compulsion to read for themselves the great works he was describing.'

To pass on competently an accurate knowledge of the matters discussed, based soundly upon immediate contact with first-hand sources, and to do this in such a fashion that the significance of what is passed on is expressed clearly so that there is neither overstatement nor understatement is a demanding task. The man who discharges it adequately becomes in a fashion a living representation of his own ideal and this is an important—perhaps the most important—part of his contributions to the ongoing life of man. Such a man as Dr Robert William Rogers, Assyriologist and Old Testament scholar, seemed the very incarnation of a lofty intellectual code as he walked along the street. Oxford and Leipzig had done their best for him and the whole tradition of urbane scholarship came to life in his teaching.

II. THE GENIUS OF THE EVANGELIST

The evangelist is the successor of the Hebrew prophet. But he turns proclamation to invitation. He proclaims the great truth, and he invites men to accept it and make it their own. He proclaims a Great Person and invites men to accept Him as Saviour and Master and Lord. The Apostle Paul was a great evangelist at the very beginning of the Christian enterprise. In communities all about the Mediterranean Sea he set candles of devotion burning so that you could follow his journeys by a line of light. Boniface in the eighth century made the great invitation articulate in the German forests. Saint Francis in the thirteenth century was a winsome and eager representative of God's outstretched hand. John Wesley in the eighteenth century invited men in a cold and formal age to the great hearthfire of God. Dwight L. Moody in the nineteenth century was a voice crying in the wilderness of men's loneliness and hard selfishness and, when he had passed by, you discovered that the desert was blossoming like a rose. All these and a multitude of others whom no man can number have illustrated the fact that 'Christianity is the religion of the great invitation.' And it was this decisive and defining quality which made them evangelists.

When Dwight L. Moody conducted a notable series of evangelistic meetings in the English city of Birmingham Dr. Robert William Dale, the outstanding preacher of the city, wrote: 'I have seen the sunrise from the top of Helvellyn and the top of the Righi, and there is something very glorious in it; but to see the light of heaven suddenly strike on man after man in the course of one evening is very much more thrilling. These people carried their new joy with them to their homes and their workshops. It could not be hid.'

The author of this article has just been looking over the volume of Professor William James's Gifford Lectures, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, which he read in 1911. In a way it seems an odd book now. But it still contains a vast amount of first-hand material in respect of the human acceptance of the great evangel. Through all the varied and sometimes extreme forms of religious life whose stories are told there is a note of triumph and a sense of contact with that which satisfies the deepest outreach of man's nature which are most impressive. Indeed this is a reflection of the very quality of the word which the evangelist speaks. He is all the while conscious that he is offering victory to men who have known defeat. He is happily and eagerly aware that he is offering them creative joy. This gives not only a sense of urgency but a sense of glad urgency.

Dr Dale, whom we have already mentioned, used to say that even theism can be experienced. This brings us to another quality of the really great Christian evangelists. Truth has been set on fire in their own hearts. Theology has become a burning imperative full of emotional drive as well as of intellectual apprehension. The truths about God and Christ and redemption fill them with what is a wonderful combination of noble awe and singing gladness. This gives to the words of the evangelist a stability and assurance which constitute a genuine part of his power.

The evangelist stands and speaks at the place where intellectual and moral and spiritual acceptance become effective action. At the Council of Clermont as the great throng heard the leader of Christendom summon them to give up their wicked ways of fighting and come to the help of their fellow Christians in the East, they cried with a mighty voice: 'God wills it.' In some practical fashion the Christian always becomes a Crusader when he takes his religion seriously. The true evangelist calls him to a way of action as well as to a form of thought and a deep spiritual experience.

The evangelist is seen in very happy fashion when he is a Christian preacher who makes all his administration and thought and speech come to a focus at last in the call for decision. When the man who presides at baptism, solemnizes matrimony, buries the dead, and is the inspiration and the guide in a thousand activities in the Church, calls for decision, it is a most impressive summons.

The evangelist is also seen in very happy fashion when as a layman he makes it completely clear that something has happened to him so important and so satisfying that he must share it with his friends. A successful layman, who as a young man had desired to be a preacher, but had found the way closed, was lamenting his fate to a ministerial friend. The parson rather surprised him by replying: 'You do know, do you not, that there are times when a word of invitation from a layman is more effective than a word of invitation from a preacher.'

Of course, every Christian is responsible for extending the invitation to the feast of God. Indeed, the layman is quite as responsible as the preacher. And sometimes a word over a desk in an office is the final and definitive word which leads to the great decision.

So minister or layman, the evangelist finds his words winged with a profound sense of urgency. He has the most important word in the world to say. And he must say it with all his power. He has an immediate contact with a reality which he cannot question. He has found an authority which has completely mastered him and which he must make compelling to others. And by means of that authority he offers not slavery but freedom.

III. WHEN THE SCHOLAR IS UNEVANGELIZED

Edward Gibbon spent more than twenty years of his life in the research and the writing which came forth as *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. It was a work of monumental learning, and it was written in a style of lofty and sustained urbanity. But his prejudice against anything like evangelical religion comes out again and again. As Professor George Sherburn of Harvard University says: 'His anti-Christian remarks occur slyly, frequently, and pervasively.' It becomes very evident that in these respects his eye sees the thing as the eye likes the look. And his eye is the eye of a scholar who has never been evangelized.

A. E. Housman, whose superb scholarship was combined with profound melancholy, thought of life as a 'long fool's errand to the grave'. He wrote poetry of exquisite but bitter loveliness. He pictured the seed of Adam as playing all life long on the sand between the sea and the land. When they built cities in the sand the confounding main swept in to efface them. Bitterly he asked:

*Shall it be Troy or Rome
I fence against the foam,
Or my own name to stay
While I depart for aye.*

In any case the vast and terrible sea would sweep everything away. So there was inevitably a distinguished and self-conscious melancholy about the mind of Housman. He was a perfect example of the unevangelized scholar.

The Education of Henry Adams tells the story of a subtly sophisticated scholar of particularly fine mentality who somehow gives one a sense of highly disciplined intelligence not able to save itself from frustration. Even in his most distinguished writing you have an odd sense that what is lacking is more important than what is found. Without a doubt he felt a great disdain for the crasser forms of evangelicalism. But his whole life might have been different if his mind had been evangelized.

The truth is that even in technical matters there come times when the mind which lacks secure spiritual anchorage misses just the insight which a deep and creative faith would have made possible. And in regard to many of the profounder matters of life and experience there is a certain colour-blindness which seems to be almost inevitably associated with the mind which has a great vacuum at the place where one might expect to find faith in the living God.

Some of the proponents of that rootless philosophy called *Existentialism* are men with a varied and scholarly knowledge of the history of philosophy. Jean Paul Sartre is an example of the type of thinker whose scholarship can never really achieve soundness, because his fundamental positions do not leave a place for that learning which is based upon a sure faith in the great principles which give a dependable quality both to the intellectual and to the moral life. Sartre is reduced to the ignominy of using principles which he has vigorously discarded whenever he wants really to say anything important about human life.

The scholar who has turned away from everything even remotely connected with the evangelical type of thinking often goes about with a fine air of intellectual emancipation. But it is a false and deceptive emancipation. Doubtless evangelical thought has had its own excesses which must be stoutly criticized. But it is not necessary to destroy the ship in order to get rid of the barnacles. When a man has freed himself from the major premise without which life falls apart and becomes a

mere phantasmagoria, he has no particular reason for pride or rejoicing. There is an inner logic of faith which makes scholarship a nobler and a more effective thing than it can ever be without that by-product of living assurance. The unevangelized mind tends to move with uncertain and uneasy steps just when it most needs to be sure-footed.

IV. THE EVANGELICAL SCHOLAR

In his great day at Leipzig when Professor Franz Delitzsch lectured on the fifty-third chapter of the Book of Isaiah, students said that the spiritual power of his words were such that they felt as if they were sitting at the foot of Mount Calvary. Delitzsch was a notably open-minded scholar, and as an old man he changed his position on important matters when he was completely convinced by the evidence. At the centre he was a man of the profoundest spirituality, and he combined the clear mind of the scholar with a deep and sure devotion which suggested the saint.

When Dr Robert William Dale in nineteenth-century England foresaw the coming of critical New Testament scholarship from the Continent to England, he thought many long, long thoughts. The documents most precious to him and to other evangelicals like him were to be submitted to tests of searching analysis before which many men might have flinched. And many men did flinch. But Dale felt that the scholar must be given his day in court. He must be allowed freely to say what he had to say. And this to Dale became all the more easy because he fully believed that the Christian has sources of certainty which criticism cannot touch. He wrote *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels* to show that the vitality of an actual experience of the presence of the God one meets in Jesus Christ gives one a certainty which will hold while the winds of critical scholarship blow violently all about. Evangelical experience would give to scholarship a depth and a richness and a security which would make it able to meet any situation.

Professor Henry Drummond could scarcely be called in the technical sense a great scholar. But as a lecturer in Free Church College, Edinburgh, his primary responsibility was with the matters of the mind. And he published books which showed an intellect deeply aware and a genuine capacity in seeing and stating subtle relationships. The whole university felt the power of Professor Drummond as a dominant personality deeply concerned with good ways of living as well as with good learning. It was even said that he changed the very moral atmosphere of the university—and it was the power of the Christian religion in his own life which made him such an effective influence in the lives of young men. It was a matter of surprise to some men that Professor Drummond won the complete confidence of Dwight L. Moody at Northfield. But that shrewd Yankee was able to recognize the presence of a deep and authentic religious life when he saw it. Drummond gave much of his life to the interpretation of the relation of religion and science. But his own life centred in religion gave a new tone even to his scientific thought.

In our own time such men of scientific learning and achievement as Sir Arthur Eddington and Sir James Jeans have so enlarged the basis of scientific thought as to make room for the experiences which transcend the impersonal uniformities of mathematical science. Indeed, Sir James Jeans has suggested that the present state of scientific thought suggests a great mathematician rather than a great impersonal formula. If this is not evangelical thinking, at least it makes evangelical thinking possible.

The peace congresses between an uncritical science and a timorous theology have not always suggested the truly masterful position of disciplined Christian thinking. But such a book as Sir William Dampier's *History of Science* reveals a happy sense of spiritual and intellectual values which can scarcely be made at home in a mechanistic interpretation of the universe.

It may be said safely that the more critically the scholar uses his mind in interpreting the material made available by his meticulous investigation, the more the road will be seen to be open to a fully Christian interpretation of life. It is the scholar whose mind is obsessed by his own materialistic presuppositions who has no place for the full richness of evangelical faith. And he has a way of asserting the presence and importance of values which have no true rootage in his own intellectual positions. It turns out in the long run that it is the men who combine the searching intellectual standards of exacting scholarship with the insights of evangelical religion who exercise the truest qualities of critical intelligence and arrive at the firmest positions of intellectual security.

V. THE SCHOLAR AS AN EVANGELIST

Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott, whose massive learning produced universal respect, and whose writings while he was at Harrow have been declared to have created a new epoch in the history of modern English theological scholarship, was a man whose learning inevitably produced an outcome in life. It was not merely that when he became Bishop of Durham he was able to bring to a solution a long and ugly coal strike and to exercise the most definite influence upon the ways of industry. Even his lectures on the Greek New Testament had an evangelical quality. A gifted and able leader who had charge of an organization which secured wise and useful social action in a certain great American city used to tell of the fashion in which his interest in making Christianity effective in the actual life of men was first aroused as he listened to an exposition of certain passages of New Testament Greek by Dr Westcott.

The truth is, of course, that the evangelical scholar can do for the cause of evangelism what no one else can do in quite the same fashion. He speaks with an intellectual assurance which gives depth and security to his interpretation of the great Redemption. Paul Elmer More once wrote a brilliant book with the title, *The Sceptical Approach to Religion*. It was a book of massive learning and of scrupulous technical scholarship. And if it came, as indeed it did come, to a stout affirmation of a completely Christian position at last, the final victory of the Christian faith came after encountering every obstacle which a most critical and sceptical mind could offer. The story of his own intellectual pilgrimage was told by Dr More in the little book—a genuine Christian classic—*Leaves from an Oxford Diary*. Modestly veiling his autobiography as the tale of an Oxford Don, More follows the whole story to a conclusion where he says: 'If I were young I would preach.' The scholar has come to the place where the passion for proclamation is alive at the very centre of his being.

That there is a proclamation of the Gospel which scorns clear thinking and would always prefer a vivid emotion to an appeal based upon indubitable fact and soundly disciplined thought it is impossible to deny—and this sort of thing causes the judicious to mourn. On the other hand, there is a passionate declaration of the great Invitation which represents intelligence on fire and dependable thought at a

white heat of perception. It is possible to prophesy to the scattered bones of technical scholarship so that they come together and take on flesh and life and become a great and marching army. The materials of scholarship are the very stuff of which evangelism is made.

Preaching has historically been known as a learned profession; and when it combines wide and profound erudition with the flame of a burning Christian experience, the result is one of the most glorious things to be found on this planet. The pulpit must be intellectually commanding if it is to be morally effective or spiritually satisfying. The true Christian gives his mind to Christ as well as his heart and conscience. And when a man puts his mind at the disposal of the God, whose face he sees in the face of Christ, he has done something from which great result will come. 'Come now, let us reason together' is always implicit in every full proclamation of the Gospel. The discipline of the closest scholarship is the best sort of preparation for the work of the man who is to lead other men to Christ.

Walter Lippman once declared that in the most torn and confused periods when there it seems that most men are too busy acting to have time to think, we need men who are encouraged to live in a kind of Isle of Safety, observing and thinking and understanding, and so interpreting the meaning of events to the men who are busy with the immediate demands of action. Of course, an Isle of Safety can be too safe. But when a man comes forth to action with a mind soundly disciplined and full of wise comprehension of the meaning of life, he gives to the action a new quality and a new power. It was something of this sort which Arnold J. Toynbee had in mind when in his vast and monumental *Study of History* he discussed the movement of 'Withdrawal—and—Return'. Scholarship is not an escape from responsibility. It is a preparation for responsibility.

So the evangelist fortified by sound scholarship will make one music as before, but vaster. In truth, all that we have belongs to God; and this includes every resource of the soundly-trained mind. The proclamation of the evangel is in a sense a literary incarnation where the word becomes flesh in living human speech, and in a literary Pentecost every man hears the word adequately expressed in the language wherein he was born.

LYNN HAROLD HOUGH

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worship. As I read this book and remembered that the lines of Milton I had known best in boyhood were the opening ones of the sonnet 'On the late massacre in Piedmont',

*Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold,*

I seemed to discover something of the intuitive influences which had been around me.

The Memoir of Felix Neff had not originally formed part of my father's library. It bears an inscription beautifully written in a flowing hand:

Miss Tomlinson

Prize for Ciphering

Plumtre House,

June 16th 1848.

Mary Elizabeth Tomlinson was my mother's maiden name.

EDWARD MACCUDY

SCOTTISH EVANGELICALS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY¹

With especial reference to Thomas Gillespie of Carnock

WE ARE met in the ruins of this thirteenth-century church of Carnock, to do honour to one dishonoured two hundred years ago.² And yet I wonder whose was the dishonour. St Augustine says:

Another's sin cannot defile thee: if it do, it is not another's, but thine own.

If you asked the judgement of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland now in session, they would reply with one voice, that in 'outing' Thomas Gillespie in 1752, the Church doomed itself to loss of some of its most devoted, conscientious, and evangelical ministers, to division and more division, till the great Secession of 1843; and only by turning its back on such policies has it come to the happy unity which this generation enjoys. We will say no more about the divisions. I do not believe Thomas Gillespie himself would have us dwell on them. I mentioned evangelical ministers: it is chiefly as one such that I call you to remember him.

Two hundred years ago how great was the need! In 1752 one was appointed to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History which is now mine. This is the record of him in the University's history:

He took care to cultivate the acquaintance and goodwill of those whose patronage and influence might be useful to him. . . . During the greater part of his tenure he did not teach at all.

It was not only the Church, you see, which was rotten with patronage. The University tried to 'out' him, and failed, because of his friendship with the Duke of Montrose. The English universities were more shockingly lax and immoral than the Scottish. The English Church was in more serious decline. And as for the people! . . . We may recall that 1757 was the year of the battle of Plassey. India, Empire, the premier position as a world-power, all that, was to fall into our lap. This is the judgement of one historian as to our fitness for it:

With half the population of London gin-sodden and illiterate, what had we to give to India?³

This period saw the beginning of our almost unchallenged position as a sea-power—the generation which began to sing 'Rule Britannia'. It is a melancholy fact that the chief wealth which then came to us from the carrying trade was earned by transporting West African negroes to Spanish America. The song should have read:

*Rule, Britannia! Britannia, rule the waves!
One, two, three and a half millions, sold as slaves!*

¹ An address given at the Gillespie Bi-Centenary Celebration, 25th May 1952, by Professor John Foster, D.D., of the University of Glasgow.

² The General Assembly of 1752 deposed Gillespie from the ministry because, with five others in the Presbytery of Dunfermline, he refused to have part in admitting, against the expressed will of the people of the parish, the patron's presentee to the living of Inverkeithing. He thus unwillingly became founder of the Relief Church, which later became part of the United Presbyterian, since 1929 happily reunited in the Church of Scotland.

³ A. Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India*, p. 45.

Conscienceless and corrupt, what had we to offer to the world?

But already, just before the middle of the century, the winds of God had begun to blow. New life was to come to religion throughout the English-speaking world—new life, revival, the Evangelical Revival. Thomas Gillespie was, in Scotland, not far from the centre of that. After education at Edinburgh University, he had gone to Northampton to be trained for the ministry. That may today sound a strange choice, but, when universities were in so sad a decline, the Dissenting Academies of England offered some of the soundest training available. Philip Doddridge, the bi-centenary of whose too early death was celebrated last year, was minister of the Castle Hill Meeting, and tutor of the Academy there. A truly learned man, he was honoured by Aberdeen University with its Doctorate of Divinity at the age of thirty-four. Among the foremost half dozen of our English hymn-writers, he contributed not only the measured rhythm of the Church of Scotland's second paraphrase ('O God of Bethel by whose hand'), but the sprightly song, 'O happy day that fixed my choice', with its lines,

*'Tis done, the great transaction's done.
I am my Lord's, and He is mine.*

In Doddridge's hymn-book it stands under the title: 'Rejoicing in our *Covenant engagements* to God.' *There* is a phrase familiar and dear to Scottish hearts. That was Doddridge's type of religion, the religion which he trained his young men to preach. And in 1741 Thomas Gillespie, as minister at Carnock, began to preach it here. He was not one of the great preachers, but he was always a faithful one.

The winds of God had begun to blow before that year 1741. Yesterday, 24th May, was Empire Day. Methodists throughout the world keep it as Wesley Day, the day when, in the year 1738, the transforming experience came to John Wesley, to send him as a preacher throughout the land, bringing tens of thousands to a knowledge of the same salvation. Before that, in 1734, the Great Awakening had begun in the American colonies, chiefly under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards. The next year Howell Harris brought similar revival to Wales. In 1742 revival broke out in Scotland, the first signs of it being under the preaching of their own ministers, in Cambuslang, and then in Kilsyth. These movements—in America, Wales, England, and Scotland, to give them their order in time—were inter-related, though not dependent upon each other. George Whitefield, friend of the Wesleys from Oxford days, and already recognized as England's greatest preacher, travelled through all these countries fanning the flames. At Cambuslang, in a natural amphitheatre still known as 'the preaching braes,' 20,000 people came to hear him, and hundreds were converted. Five weeks later, when he came again, 30,000 gathered. Another link between these different movements was the correspondence of their leaders. Especially important for Scotland were the letters that passed between Jonathan Edwards in New England and the group of Church of Scotland ministers led by William M'Culloch of Cambuslang. It was because of what they had read of Edwards's work that they had begun to preach for conversions, to pray for them, to expect them. The prayers were answered, nowhere more strikingly than in Cambuslang and Kilsyth. Thomas Gillespie, only one year minister at Carnock, newly trained as minister in just such an evangelical atmosphere, was not long out of it. James Robe, minister at Kilsyth, writes about

several brother-ministers who in 1742 came to help him gather his harvest of souls:

Of all others, the Reverend Mr Thomas Gillespie, minister of the Gospel at Carnock, was most remarkably God's *send* to me.

Robe and Gillespie were busy every day: with meetings when the day's work, in field and home and shop, was done; meetings every night of the week; and then dealing with individual inquirers often right through till early morning.

M'Culloch, Robe, Gillespie—we must add another to the list, John Erskine. He was the son of Colonel Erskine, the laird of Carnock. He had been thinking of continuing at Edinburgh University, to read Law. It was this outbreak of revival that turned his thoughts to the ministry. In later life we shall find him the chief figure in that Evangelical party which remained within the Church of Scotland, with so many, and so cordial, relationships beyond that Church.

The year after this Scottish revival, 1743, Jonathan Edwards wrote in a letter to Scotland that he believed these movements on both sides of the Atlantic to be

only the forerunners of something vastly greater, more pure, more extensive. I believe God will revive His work again before long, and that it will not wholly cease till it has subdued the whole earth.⁴

We may feel here a tendency to smile. How often one's own success takes on undue dimensions! Fancy giving world-shaking importance to revivals in a few Scotch villages and towns, and clusters of log-cabins in North America! But before we laugh, or accuse of self-importance, let us complete the sequence of events.

In the next year, 1744, the Scottish ministers concerned in this revival, with the support of their people, instituted the *Concert for Prayer*. The undertaking was, to give time for prayer for the coming of Christ's Kingdom, on Saturday evening, and Sunday morning—the times nearest to the preaching of the Word—and in an especial manner on the first Tuesday of every quarter. In many parts of Scotland prayer-groups were formed, keeping these times. We hear of forty-five groups in Glasgow; in Kilsyth, 'thirty societies of young people'; and so on. The undertaking was at first for two years, but in 1746 they renewed it for a further seven. And they decided to make it, instead of an idea passed on among acquaintances, a matter of public announcement. Twelve Church of Scotland ministers drew up a circular letter about it. They did not sign their names, but we have no doubt that with M'Culloch of Cambuslang, and Robe of Kilsyth, there was Thomas Gillespie of Carnock. It was Robe of Kilsyth who had the idea that it might be of use to send a copy to John Wesley. Wesley, hearing of this, wrote:

It shows a truly Christian spirit. I should be glad to have also the note you mention touching the proposal for prayer and praise. Might it not be practicable to have the concurrence of Mr Edwards in New England, if not of Mr Tennent also, herein? It is evidently one work with what we have seen here. Why should we not all praise God with one heart?⁵

⁴ *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 1840 edn., Vol. I, memoir by S. E. Dwight.

⁵ *Letters of John Wesley*, II, 33.

So it seems it was Wesley's idea to send a copy to Jonathan Edwards. This had great results, for Edwards not only accepted the idea, but was captivated by it. He wrote a small book, incorporating the Scottish *Concert for Prayer*, and adding much of his own about the urgency of this matter. Like many small books of the period, it has a long rigmarole of a title. From its original 186 words the following is a sufficient selection: *An Humble Attempt to promote an explicit agreement and visible union of God's people through the world, in extraordinary prayer, for the revival of religion, and the advancement of Christ's Kingdom on earth.* And this he sent far and wide, under his own name.

Now it may well be asked, with all this prayer and expectation, what came of it? In Scotland this breath of revival passed, there being apparently only a small, local, temporary contribution to 'the advancement of Christ's Kingdom'. But the sequence is not yet quite complete.

The Concert for Prayer began in Scotland in 1744. It was passed, at Wesley's suggestion, to New England, to become the heart of Jonathan Edwards's *Humble Attempt*, 1748. Edwards sent copies of his book back to Scotland. He sent one to the youngest of his Scottish correspondents, the Rev. John Erskine, then in his first charge, at Kirkintilloch. Thirty-six years later, Erskine, now in his sixties, and minister of the historic church of Greyfriars, Edinburgh (where the signing of the Covenant began in 1638) still kept up the practice of writing letters to men of other Communions and in other lands. He wrote to a group of Baptist ministers in the Midlands of England. In sending to them a parcel of books, he happened to include a copy of the *Humble Attempt*. The result was immediate. They adopted the idea and issued a prayer-call, the time to be kept being the first Monday of every month:

The grand object of prayer is to be that the Holy Spirit may be poured down on our ministers and churches, that sinners may be converted, the saints edified, the interest of religion revived, and the name of God glorified. At the same time, remember, we trust you will not confine your requests to your own societies; or to your immediate connexion; let the whole interest of the Redeemer be affectionately remembered, and the spread of the Gospel to the most distant parts of the habitable globe be the object of your most fervent requests.*

There it is again, this recurring idea of world significance. We are nearing the outcome now. This was in 1784. Two years later, a newly-appointed Baptist minister (he had been a village shoe-maker) joined this group. His name was William Carey. It was he who proposed that they should constitute themselves a missionary society, and send him as their first missionary. And in 1792, because they had already for eight years been praying for 'the spread of the Gospel to the most distant parts', they could not but recognize this as the leading of God's hand.

The founding of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792 is not just one event. It is the beginning of the Missionary Awakening, a movement which in fifty years sees the founding, first in these Islands, then in North America, and on the mainland of Europe, of almost all the great missionary agencies of our time. The modern Missionary Movement had begun, the greatest expansion of Christianity in all the nineteen centuries.

* E. A. Payne, *The Prayer Call of 1784*, and article in *The Congregational Quarterly*, July 1943.

Now we can read those words of Jonathan Edwards in 1743 again, read them as prophecy fulfilled: 'I believe it will not wholly cease till it has subdued the whole earth.' Subdued?—no, not yet; but gone through the whole earth, it has. Something went out from Scotland to contribute mightily to this glorious achievement. And central to it all was a group of ministers faithfully engaged in the work of God in their own parishes; sure that what He had begun to do there was of more than local, was indeed of world significance; and so engaging themselves and others to pray that His power might be made manifest, not only to change history, but to bring history to its consummation, which is the Kingdom of God. JOHN FOSTER

THE SUBLIMATION OF MORALITY

THAT morality can be sublimated into filiality may seem absurd, at least to some people. Whether it can or not depends upon the view we take of its nature. For example, the Logical Positivist's conception of morality does indeed make ridiculous the very idea of its sublimation; for if moral judgements are merely complicated ejaculations, or reports of our private feelings, then morality scarcely calls for anything like sublimation. However, we cannot here enter upon a discussion of the Logical Positivist's view of ethics. We must be content to point out at least that morality has been found necessary for the development of civilization, which is in itself some assurance of its validity.

Then, again, sublimation, or transcendence, may not be thought suitable or necessary in the case of the ordinary morality of social intercourse, based upon such practices as truth-speaking, promise-keeping, and commercial straight dealing, implying as these obligations do objective standards which are more or less fixed. For this type of morality there is at least an adequate historical cause in the needs of tribal life; and its maintenance, apart from any other justification, is essential for social security. Indeed, there are those who think that morality has no higher purpose or deeper basis. They cannot conceive how sublimation can be applied to what they call 'right conduct'.

Can we, however, equate morality exclusively with right conduct? Certainly rightness of action, though not the whole, is yet an essential part of the moral life; so much so that our intelligence must always be occupied in finding the fittest expression of ethical principles. For instance, I must do nothing to deceive or defraud my neighbour; I must pay him what I owe, whether as a recompense for his services, or in discharge of social obligation. But this morality of claims and counter-claims, while important enough, scarcely rises above a materialistic conception of the relations between man and man. Doubtless, if I pay my neighbour what I owe, I shall disarm any suspicions about my own rectitude, and I may facilitate any future transactions. But if there ensues an attitude of mutual trust, it is because the transaction rises above the mere exchange of goods and services to the higher level of an inter-personal relationship and of a commerce of souls. Thus my relation to my neighbour, and his to me, is not exhausted by our acting toward each other in the way called 'right'. From every standpoint, whether of Biology, Psychology, or Metaphysics, we are involved in each other's lives. Our relations are inevitably *inter-personal*.

This truth is of fundamental importance for morality. The cardinal question which arises at this point concerns the attitude of will which men should adopt toward one another. Must we hate or love each other? Must we live as enemies or as friends? We can do either, or both by turns. Many have been the theories of moral philosophy as to how we ought to live, and very varied the ends of life which have been proposed, such as happiness (whether individual or general), non-contradiction in action, self-realization, and many others. But in the opinion of the writer none of these theories can supply a satisfactory answer to the crucial question as to *why* they should be acted upon. We cannot equate either the desire or the desirable with what ought to be desired, nor can we derive the obligatory from the actual. Nor, again, is it enough to accept the verdict of what is called 'conscience', for much depends upon the meaning of that term. Much store used to be set on intuition as to what was right. But in recent years Psychology has subjected 'intuitions' to so much anatomical examination that we cannot ascribe moral authority to 'conscience', so understood. And yet we must not minimize such a view of conscience as that held by Bishop Butler; for with him it was not a merely emotional reaction, but was essentially cognitive in nature. It involved a principle of reflection and the critical application of a standard. Where, however, Butler's account fails to satisfy is in his claim that conscience 'magisterially exerts itself'. Its 'magistracy' fails to convince us of its authority, and the decisions pronounced in its name only beg the great question: 'Why?' But in our search for the answer to this question, what other resource have we than that of reflection or the use of our reason? Much depends upon whether we make a comprehensive use of reason in the attempt to arrive at a world-view. It was by such an exercise of reason that the Greek Stoics arrived at a conception of world-unity in their doctrine of Pan-logism, and inferred from it principles of human dignity and equality. This universal Logos was believed to dwell in men, all of whom shared in its unity. But so impersonal and materialistic was their conception of the all-pervading unity of 'world-fire' that it inspired no spirit of ardour between men. Indeed, the ideal of self-sufficiency deduced from it militated against human cohesion of any intimate kind. However, with the advance of civilization thought attained a more spiritual metaphysic. One need only instance the kind of Hegelian Idealism which T. H. Green favoured, according to which the Eternal Consciousness indwelt every man and was the source of his moral nature. From this he deduced the moral idea of a 'will of all which is a will of each'. In our opinion it is only in relation to a world-view that an ideal of human life can really be determined. Not, indeed, that Green's metaphysic was satisfactory, however right may have been his ethical conclusions in themselves. The marriage of wills seems the perfect achievement of morality, and is a much more intimate and sublime ideal than the mere fulfilment of 'our station and its duties'. But the metaphysic of a Unitary and Impersonal Consciousness does not seem sufficient to justify such morality.

A few years ago Lord Lindsay published a small book in which he contrasted two moralities, a lower and a higher. Concerning the latter and loftier type he wrote: 'If we live in a country which is influenced at all by Christianity, or indeed by any of the higher religions, we are most of us aware of another morality and its challenge.' This other morality he calls that of 'Perfection' or 'Grace'. Now, it is, I would maintain, open to *reason* to attain a philosophy of the Universe which is not inconsistent with the beliefs of the 'higher religions' and of Christianity. It is not

unreasonable, we think, to find in Nature proofs of a Creative Mind. And, further, there are signs in abundance of Divine Beneficence. No doubt the evidence of Nature on this point may be thought ambiguous. Scientists differ, for instance, on the question whether there is any 'cosmic sanction for ethics'. The truth is that in the evolutionary processes of Nature as such there is neither morality nor immorality; they are in themselves non-moral. The distinction between good and evil is not in the processes themselves but is made by the mind of man. Man has a sense of value, and distinguishes between the better and the worse. He finds in evolutionary development so much that accords with his sense of value that he is constrained to attribute to the Author of Nature the source and origin of value. Morality both supports and is supported by a certain view of reality. So far as man rises to an Ethic of love, he tends to believe in a God of Love, and *vice versa*.

Of course, if there is no belief in a God of Love, it is obvious that the question of the sublimation of morality cannot arise. No doubt a sort of morality would live on, if only for prudential reasons. It is, however, our contention that for conduct of the highest type a religious creed is essential. It was in 'religious reverence' that Philo found the source of virtue. From the idea of the equal relations of all men to God he deduced the duty of reciprocity of service, elaborating this into an enlightened statement of the Golden Rule. Each individual, he said, should feel a vivid creature-consciousness with accompanying humility. However, we are more than creatures in so far as we can rise to an apprehension of Divine Beneficence, and can trace to God values which we find in ourselves, deep calling to Deep. In virtue of the love within us we are constrained to find its source and counterpart in God, who Himself also awakes it in us. Made in His image we are not simply creatures, but are children.

So far we have been speaking in terms of values. What of imperatives? Why should the character of God involve us in the *duty* of imitation? We cannot find the obligation in natural desire. In what way does the 'supernatural' command us? The artist who devotes himself to the creation of the beautiful feels a constraint to take all appropriate steps to realize his aim. But he need not after all be an artist. By contrast, the duty to obey and love God is absolute. It is *inherent* in the relationship of man to his Maker, of the earthly child to the heavenly Father. Such a relationship, without its accompanying duty, would lose its meaning. Indeed we could not form the idea of God as Creator, Father, and Lord, without its involving the thoughts of dependence, obedience, and love, on the part of His children. But unless such obedience develops into love, the mere feeling of duty will always carry with it a sense of strain, especially when it is menaced by temptation; a strain, however, which is lost as filial regard supervenes and grows.

How, then, is Morality changed when it is thus allied with religious faith? It becomes an expression of Filial Loyalty to God, of which the aim on man's part is to do the will and imitate the character of the Divine Father whose nature is Love. Such a change means a sublimation of the ethical life, and carries with it such consequences as the following:

(1) In the first place, Morality, so sublimated, is inconsistent with the old idea that man is an end in himself, or that he is self-sufficient. The Stoics, though they believed the world to be pervaded by Reason, at the same time bequeathed to humanity the somewhat unfortunate doctrine of *autarkeia* or self-sufficiency. Self-reliance up to a point is, of course, requisite both for the individual and the com-

munity. But in its exaggerated form it has proved nothing but a curse. It has isolated man from his neighbour, class from class, and nation from nation. State-sovereignty, indeed, is a modern fetish. This idea of human independence has crept into ethical systems, of which the Kantian is a famous example. Though Kant did bring into his system the idea of God, it was really extraneous thereto, his fundamental contention being that man is an end in himself and able to conceive of an all-sufficient principle of action, even a categorical imperative. We may admit the categorical nature of his principles of morality. But to regard them as intrinsically imperative is another matter. Are we *bound* to be reasonable in our actions? Indeed, is any principle of action really powerful enough to bind us? If man is an end in himself, it is only his own ego with which he must ultimately be concerned. Granted that Kant teaches reverence, not so much for ourselves as for the reign of reason, and that we must accord an equal reverence to the reason of our neighbours, this attitude to them is not one of love but, as has been pointed out, a glorification of the dictates of our own reason. It is difficult to see how moral pride can thus be escaped. Moreover, how can persons who are all supposed to be 'ends in themselves' cohere in a stable community? Above all, if God is over all and in all, how can His children be in any ultimate sense 'ends in themselves'? If the doctrine of a heavenly Father be true, human self-sufficiency is not only an impossible, but a grotesque idea. In contrast with the teachings of philosophers and seers, the profoundest insight into the situation of man, his ultimate helplessness, his insufficiency and need, is revealed in the first Beatitude of Jesus, who pronounced a blessing on those 'who are poor in spirit'. It is only those of such a spirit who can be indwelt by the Supreme Spirit, even by the Spirit of the Divine, which is that of Divine Love.

(2) Secondly, Morality when regarded as the practical expression of filiality, seeks its own propagation, just as in the life of the normal family the sons, being brothers, are united in cherishing each other's loyalty to their parents. The ordinary morality of claims and counter-claims is concerned only with what are called 'right acts', and not with the personal attitude of man to his neighbour. It is held to be sufficient to pay what is due, and to speak what is true. Nevertheless in its outlook humanity has from time to time risen above this, and even above such ideals of life as liberty and equality, and conceived of fraternity. Brotherhood, indeed, is exalted as the final aim for which to strive. Good as far as it goes, it has tended to become an absolute end, and to mean little more than the equalizing, so far as possible, of goods and services. Yet as an independent and self-sufficient ideal it proves defective. It lacks strength in its incentive, and catholicity in its scope, besides being materialistic in its aim. Moreover, social movements devoted solely to brotherhood have had a somewhat chequered career. Even the Golden

Rule itself cannot stand alone as an ideal of life. It has been subjected to criticism on the ground, for example, that it would permit reciprocity in evil. Kant in a moment of rare cynicism instanced the case of a married couple bent on ruin, with the comment: 'O marvellous harmony, what he wishes, she wishes too!' Similarly Henry Sidgwick observed that one might wish for another's co-operation in sin, an opinion endorsed by Edward Caird, who remarked that one's wishes for another might be as unreasonable as one's wishes for oneself.

The flank of all such attacks is turned by the real object of Filiality in its practical expression, the aim of which is not so much to 'brother all the souls on earth', as to

promote their sonship of the Father, and their imitation of the Divine Love so far as that is possible. Such an aim will sanctify every desire and transform every material service. It will spiritualize the coherent will, and rid social agreement of purposes that are merely narrow, limited, or in any way unworthy. It will unite self with neighbour in a common devotion to the Father. Such devotion will inspire that spirit of love which is the essence of morality.

Alas, our sonship by creation has lost much of its glory.

Have we not reason to lament

What man has made of man?

It is, however, the special mission of Christianity to bring all men through redemption into the status of sons of God.

E. W. HIRST

PIONEERS OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

(Continued from p. 133, April 1952)

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS—ISAAC SHIMMIN

NOW let us turn to Isaac Shimmin, left alone in Mashonaland. Within a few days of the departure of Watkins he has made friends with a young Methodist from Cape Colony, Mr Venables, and in his company is marking out the mission farm near Umtali. This done, he is off by ox-wagon back to Salisbury, where he intends to consult Selous, the great hunter, as to the best district for a farm in the north. On the way he keeps company with a Mr Stevens. Several men go out to hunt a marauding lion and he goes with them, despite the reluctance of one or two to have a parson with them at such a time. At the critical moment when the lion charged and Stevens went down before it, Shimmin stood firm, but two of the party 'yielded to the impulse of the moment' and bolted to the rear which, as Shimmin remarked, 'was a perfectly rational thing to do'. Fortunately for Stevens the parson managed to get his shot in and mortally wounded the lion, and one of the men who had gone to the rear recovered and put in the finishing shot. This exploit gained Shimmin fame among the settlers and caused Jameson to treat him with friendliness. He obtained land for a church in the native location and was given the right to exercise some supervision over those who lived there.

Dr Jameson was anxious to let me see clearly that our efforts amongst the natives would have his strongest support.

And this support continued until the ill-starred adventure into the Transvaal on what became known as the Jameson Raid. Shimmin had a long talk with Selous and was on the point of trekking north when news came into Salisbury that one of Lo Bengula's raiding parties had attacked and killed Lo Magondi. On hearing this he sought further information from Jameson and the following day, 2nd December, he set out.

Knowing that I was safe in the Master's keeping, I resolved to set out, and if I heard of fresh complications whilst on the road, I could then turn again.

On this journey there was another adventure with a lion, but this time it was Walter, the Cape driver, who was involved. Whilst stalking a buck, Walter suddenly saw a big lion stalking the same prey. The lion had not seen him and 'Walter executed a masterly retreat, arrived back at the wagon breathless, had the oxen inspanned in record time, and only breathed sufficiently to relate the tale' when on the move. 'That lion could have all the buck in the country as far as he was concerned.'

Major Forbes and party passed today on their way back to Salisbury from Lo Magondi's. He assured me that all was now quiet on ahead. The poor oxen had a bad time of it with the 'blind fly'. This is about twice the size of an English wasp, and its bite is very painful both to man and beast. Thousands swarmed round the cattle all day, preventing their feeding, and causing them to rush frantically in all directions. Nothing could drive them away until after sunset.

He crossed the river Hanyane, visited the Mining Commissioner, had a day at the Sinoia caves, and then turned north toward Zimba's kraal where he hoped to find a site for a station and suitable land for a farm.

And now commenced a spell of real pioneer work. For nearly a dozen miles we had to go ahead of the wagon, axe in hand, and chop down the trees and bushes to make a channel for our big African ship through the wood. It was hard work, and we were not sorry when at length we came safely to anchor at Zimba's. Found the chief a very pleasant old fellow, and he and Michael soon became fast friends.

On Tuesday 15th December we marked out and beacons our new Mission Farm, Hartleyton. . . . Here I was nearer to the centre of Africa than any other Wesleyan minister had ever been—within ninety miles of the great river Zambesi, with hundreds of miles of unoccupied territory behind me, and in front, an open door to millions of heathens. But I have no doubt regarding the future. The people called Methodists believe in Forward Movements—here is a mighty stride onward in the foreign field, . . . surely the fact that our flag is now waving within a few days journey of the Zambesi is sufficient to intensify the enthusiasm of every earnest worker. . . . Our flag is there and we must never desert it; rather will we fight up to it and beyond it until we have crossed the Zambesi.

So dreamed Shimmin as he went about his task of surveying and marking out the new farm—'until we cross the Zambesi'—this was in the hearts of all the missionaries who followed Shimmin; again and again it appears like a refrain until at last in Douglas Gray's book, *Frontiers of the Kingdom*, it became: 'We have crossed the Zambesi.' That part of Shimmin's dream became true, but there are still many miles of unoccupied country behind. Shimmin goes on:

Zimba was delighted to hear that we intended to send a Christian teacher to live with him, and he promised to give him both protection and assistance. The great path to Zumba (the Portuguese town on the Zambesi) passes through the place. We hope to make Hartleyton an active centre from which our missionary operations will radiate in all directions.

The journey back to Salisbury was a difficult one because the rains had started and the roads were so bad that one day they stuck fast three times within a quarter of a mile, and it took nearly two days to get clear. Later the wagon

got securely embedded in the middle of a small stream, and we could not get it out until the morning. The frogs and the mosquitoes made sleeping a puzzle. Lions roared not far away, but we were preserved from all dangers, and successfully surmounted all our difficulties.

He reached Salisbury two days before Christmas, and when inspanning the oxen for the last stage he took a photograph of the wagon and wrote:

When we left Pretoria we had sixteen bullocks; we lost some on the road and had to replace them, and now we were finishing our travels with only ten. Nearly thirteen hundred miles! This is not much by rail or steamer, but it means a great deal in a new country. But all through the seven months of our journeying the hand of God has been leading us and protecting us, and now we come to the last mile.

It is clear he regarded this as the end of a stage: Pretoria to Salisbury, Salisbury to Umtali and back, Salisbury to Zimba's and back, a great journey at an average speed of two or three miles per hour of travelling. He was to travel many more miles by ox-wagon and mule-cart, but with this difference—until now he had travelled to a land he knew not of, now he was home and a new phase of the work had opened.

The work among European settlers in Salisbury begins with a congregation of four men in a store, but soon he is using the dining-room of the 'Masonic Hotel', the owner of which is a Jew who lets him have it rent free and also provides free light. His congregation has gone up to sixty men and one 'good lady who gives great help with the singing'. The pews are 'very free and open', consisting of rough planks put on bricks and wooden legs, but his main interest is in his congregation.

Many of them are young men of good education and from Christian homes, but 'roughing-it' has taken off their polish in more senses than one. Others are diggers and adventurers who have knocked about in America and Australia and other parts of the world—there sits the son of an Irish rector—there a young man who told me he had not been to Church for a dozen years; this is his second service; he admires Huxley and condemns *Corybantic Christianity*. Some are sitting smoking on the veranda and listening through the open doorway. My subject is 'The choice of Ruth' and three or four Jews present listen very attentively. I was told that last Sunday half a dozen men, including a Jew and a Quaker, adjourned to one of the huts and argued about the sermon until well after midnight.

He gets to work with a subscription list for the building of a Church and soon has £125 in hand; a parsonage of poles and mud is put up, and on 26th March 1892 Dr Jameson lays the foundation stone of the new church, which was completed and opened on Sunday, 5th June. Later the same year the Rev. G. H. Eva and eight evangelists arrived from the Transvaal and Michael Bowen left. Eva took over Salisbury and Shimmin began his travels again. Three of the evangelists were stationed at Epworth, the farm not many miles from Salisbury, until the next dry season, and Shimmin took two with him for Zimba's kraal. A week's trekking brought him again to Zimba's.

The chief was delighted to see us again, as he had come to the conclusion that we had altogether forgotten our promise to send him a teacher. We told him that we were bringing him twice as much as he had expected, as two of the evangelists would live on the farm and instruct his people in the Gospel.

Shimanga, the neighbouring chief, an intelligent looking old man, informed us that he had heard some strange stories of the manner in which white men made the people Christian. 'They first had a large house built, in which they made an extraordinary amount of noise of various kinds, then they induced the natives to enter and put them to death.' He was much relieved when I explained to him that his knowledge of the usual mode of conversion was greatly at fault, and when I showed him the advantages of accepting the religion of peace and goodwill, nothing would satisfy him but that he, too, must have a teacher.

He trekked on and crossed the Angwa river until he came to Lo Magondi's main village. The last part of the journey was made on foot.

Our caravan consisted of six 'boys' carrying packs, three teachers and myself, and as our little party tramped along, single file, through the African forest, I felt as proud of our expedition as if I had been marching to the relief of another Emin Pasha.

He found Lo Magondi friendly and willing to receive a teacher, but, first he had to obtain permission from their 'great prophetess,' Salokazana. A messenger was sent and brought back word that whilst she was in favour, the permission of Lo Bengula should be obtained in such a matter, and she had sent messengers to the king's kraal. The lesson of the Matabele raid the previous year had been well learned. During his journeys Shimmin notes all that he sees and hears, and his correspondence is a mine of information on native customs and beliefs. He watches the weaver with his primitive frame, and writes appreciatively:

I got a piece that would not have disgraced a Manchester warehouse; it was beautifully made and had three or four ornamental strips running through the whole length. I mention all this to show the natural ingenuity of the people and their future possibilities.

He speculates on their religious beliefs and without dogmatism sets down what he is told:

They believe in a Supreme Being whom they call Mwari, but to him they dare not pray. Their intercessor is the mother of god, Banamarumbe. This may be a corruption of the Jesuit faith, and may have slowly percolated down from the old Mission stations on the Zambesi.

Sitting by his wagon one day he was startled to hear a woman sing the well-known tune, THE OLD HUNDREDTH.

Amid such surroundings a sound like this was as startling as the Matabele war-cry would be if heard in a quiet English village. I could hardly believe my ears, but went quickly to unravel the mystery.

The singer had lived in Bulawayo many years ago, and had heard the Gospel preached by missionaries of the L.M.S. and had become one of their scholars. Hearing of this Lo Bengula had banished her from his territory, and, to escape

death, she travelled north and found refuge with the prophetess Salokazana for several years, and then moved on to this village. She had tried to keep her faith alive during those years and was overjoyed that missionaries had now come to her new home.

She is eager to help on as much as she can the Kingdom of Heaven. Little did those faithful missionaries in Matabeleland think that the good seed sown so long ago should be carried to such an out-of-the-way corner of Mashonaland.

He describes a Sunday spent at Epworth where three of the new teachers have been put to work for the rainy season, after which two of them will be moved to new stations farther south. At seven in the morning more than one hundred men, women, and children gather for worship, and after breakfast the first School in Mashonaland is opened, with fifty adults and children who sit down in groups to learn 'the mysteries of the printed word'.

In May 1893, accompanied by two of the teachers from Epworth, he goes to explore an unknown area in the south-east.

We travelled along the Umtali Road for about thirty miles, and then struck off due south across the veldt. A small stream with rather steep banks was the cause of our first breakdown, but as we always carry the necessary tools with us, we were soon ready for resuming our journey. Twenty miles farther on we outspanned by the principal village of a chief called Nungubo, where the people gave us a very friendly welcome.

Then comes the establishing of a work later to grow, under the care of John White and Avon Walton, into the Waddilove Training Institution and Nengubo Mission.

Soon after my return to the wagon I had an agreeable surprise. An old man came as a deputation from the chief, bringing a goat and some meal for the minister. He had come with a request from the chief and people that I should not go away without deciding to leave a teacher at their place. This had been my real object in visiting them, and you can imagine my satisfaction when the people themselves took the initiative in the matter. To me this old man seemed a prototype of the future circuit steward inviting a minister, and I tried to feel all the collective importance of a small stationing committee.

He wanted to visit another chief named Gambisa whose villages were fifty miles farther south, but he had to make a long detour via Charter as the direct route was reported impassable. Of the journey beyond Charter he writes:

We now entered a country very rough but thickly populated. Spent a night at Umtigesa's. Here we got a guide to Gambisa, and we unquestionably required his services. Our road was only a faint 'spoor' which took us through ploughed fields and thick bush, across rocky streams and stony crags. . . . I have journeyed thousands of miles by wagon, but this experience beat anything I have ever known. And yet it was strange how calmly we at length regarded every obstacle and difficulty. However bad the river we had to ford, in we went knowing that the worst that could happen would be only a temporary collapse, but we generally came out on the other side and plodded on.

Gambisa gave them a welcome when they arrived late one afternoon 'all knocked up', and the following morning there was a large meeting at the wagon when Shimmin explained the reason for his visit, and asked if they were willing to have a teacher. The chief replied: 'You are the first minister I have ever met; we all want to learn, the country is open to you, do as you will.' Instead of returning via Charter, Shimmin determined to attempt the more direct route across country by Mount Wedza, and after a rough journey reached Nungubo's kraal again. To his astonishment the teacher he had left there had already made such progress that the people were able to come and entertain him in the evening with their singing.

We had only been away eighteen days, and this was the result. By means of song the teacher had first won their confidence and awakened their interest, and they were now thirsting to know more.

This experience led Shimmin to consider the 'best way of preaching the Gospel to the Mashonas'.

What more delightful than to go up and down the country seeing constant conversions? Why not emulate the example of St Paul, and wherever a standard is planted, there to found a branch of the Christian Church? Is this practicable just yet in the present condition of the native mind? So far this has not been my experience, but I resolved to make another trial, and am now more than ever convinced that for these people, and at this early stage, such a mode of preaching is both inexpedient and unfruitful. At Gambisa's I had the largest congregation of Mashonas that I have ever seen, and I could not have wished for a more attentive audience, but the simple truths of the Bible were beyond them . . . and I fully believe that if all the eloquence of the City Temple had been displayed for their instruction, the result would have been the same. These people must be taught slowly, line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little, there a little. The field must be cleared, and the seed sown before the harvest will appear.

Whilst he was writing the above words the Matabele War had broken out, which was to end in the defeat and death of Lo Bengula, and the occupation of Matabeleland to form what is known today as Southern Rhodesia. Both Watkins and Shimmin defended the action of the Chartered Company. Shimmin knowing the country could not see any other way out; he could not regard the Matabele as a poor downtrodden people suffering under the weight of British imperialism, as many people in England seemed to do at that time. For him they were a savage, warlike race whose power had to be broken if the Mashonas were to have peace and opportunity to develop. Because of his writings he was castigated by several Liberal papers as 'a complacent, smug young man', but he was well able to defend himself on his return to England for furlough. The account of his journey home from Mashonaland makes an exciting story and is well worth reprinting, but here we must leave him. There is no time to describe how, on his return from furlough, he set going a great work in Bulawayo, or to consider his accounts of the Matabele Rising and the Mashona Rebellion in 1896, or how he and the gallant band of men with him set to work to repair the damage done—but sufficient has been written to give a picture of Isaac Shimmin, the man who was described by an old African at Epworth as 'a great traveller who went about planting teachers', and we who labour in the country today know that the planting was well done.

HARRY BUCKLEY

MY FATHER'S LIBRARY

LOOKING backward through the mists of some sixty years I can see a kindly grey-haired figure standing in a half-opened doorway looking at me with a gentle, rather quizzical expression, and I seem to hear a voice saying, rather to itself than to me: 'Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep.'

The voice was that of my father, who sometimes looked in on his way downstairs to see if I had begun to get up when I was called, and who on occasion, finding that I hadn't, would adopt this novel method of telling me that I should be late for breakfast. I used to think that the words were his own, and it was not until long afterwards that I discovered that they were from the Proverbs. They served the double purpose of getting me up and of stimulating the literary sense.

I was brought up to believe that breakfast was the most important meal of the day, and I am rather inclined to think so still; and when you have to be at school by nine o'clock, as I had to be—though it might be possible to run there in five minutes, as I often proved—it really doesn't do to delay unduly the process of getting up. Consequently my father's appearance was well timed.

Another quotation of his that has lodged itself in my memory was:

*My name is Norval, on the Grampian hills
My father feeds his flocks, a frugal swain.*

It is from John Home's long-forgotten tragedy, *Douglas*.

The fervour that my father put into those lines seemed to give them an autobiographical touch, but it was at Stenton in East Lothian that most of my father's childhood was spent, and the near hills were the Lammermuirs. He was born in Edinburgh, and as he says in an all too brief fragment of biography, his father was a member of a family whose ancestors belonged to the Highlands of Scotland.

These facts brought about that in our home in the English Midlands, there was always a Scottish atmosphere. I am more conscious of this in retrospect than I was in days of childhood. But the influences were always there in books and in song. When we came back from one ever-memorable summer holiday, in which I had seen Edinburgh and Melrose, medallion portraits of Scott and Burns were brought back to take their place in my father's library, alongside of china casts of the heroes of the Indian Mutiny, Havelock and Colin Campbell. I knew their features well and I knew something of their deeds. Cawnpore and Lucknow were more than names to me.

'Pipes of the misty moorland,' 'Havelock and his Highlanders, the bravest of the brave'—the cadence of the lines lay like music in my ear, and I have been partial to the pipes ever since.

I wonder, reader, do you know *The Gold Thread* by Norman Macleod? You would need to have known it as a child to feel the same awe and delight in the allegory that I felt. A delight partly due no doubt to the quality of the illustrations.

How tense the action in the unerring hand of the artists, matching as it does so well the vivid simplicity of the text! The book is a lesser star in the orbit of Bunyan, and a lover of the *Pilgrim's Progress* must surely surrender to its charm. It was given to us by discerning parents; but another favourite was one of my own choosing from among my father's books.

I suppose the title attracted me: *My Schools and Schoolmasters, or The Story of my Education*, by Hugh Miller. As I read the part that related to his boyhood, I

wished—oh, how I wished!—that Hugh Miller's schools and schoolmasters had been mine also. Life was surely more interesting in the Cromarty Firth than anything that had ever fallen to my lot.

Hugh Miller and Bunyan's *Holy War* are the two names, by virtue of which, memory assures me that I was a reader in my father's library. What think you is a man's library? Stevenson, I think it was, who said that to marry was to domesticate the recording angel. Is not even taking to one's self a book a mighty serious business? Does not the possession of it imply intention if nothing more? Intention to have and to hold from that day forth— And what has come of it? How many of our books are there which, if they could, might cast reproachful glances that might be interpreted as saying: 'You intended to read us when you carried us home, and the years have passed and we wait.'

These remarks are inapplicable to the assemblers of libraries. Their interest lay in the acquiring. Lucullus, Roman general, whose house was a seat of Hellenic culture; 'the good duke Humphrey' who gave the first books to Oxford; John Rylands, benefactor of Manchester—their function was but to pave the way for those who sought after knowledge. The true university, as Carlyle has said, is a collection of books, and the entrance door stands wide open.

I always, when I entered my father's library, did so with a certain feeling of awe, because it was there that he prepared his sermons, and something told me that he would not like to be disturbed. His thoughts might be far away. 'Here in a little lonely room' as a poet has said of himself, and as a man may say in his own library:

*I am lord of earth and sea
And the planets come to me.*

To be in the service of the Methodist Church as was my father, transplanted by a personal influence from a Presbyterian environment, is to have chosen to walk in a path which does not lead up to any of the greater heights of human ambition. Much of his work lay among those of low estate; but it was his on occasions without number to have to speak of the eternal verities, of things which transcend time and space, and the words that he uttered if he was to give of his best must be the result of study and reflection, and on occasion of prayer.

There were there assembled on his shelves a great number of counsellors attired in sober livery of cloth or calf. Among the latter the complete works of Jeremy Taylor had pride of place. Near it stood those of John Bunyan and Cardinal Newman. In large measure theological, the library was formed with so comprehensive an intention that from a survey of the shelves one would have found it hard to say to what branch of the Christian Church its owner belonged. The perfect lucidity of the titles of some of the books, e.g., *The Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, *Ecce Homo*, *The Near and the Heavenly Horizon*, makes them still resonant in my memory. There, in quietude, among the tools of his trade—if the expression may be used of his books—my father fitted himself for the work to which he had given his life. I am disposed to think that books may exert an unconscious influence. Or is it only my fancy that Locke, listening from his empyrean, hearing a bit of sweet reasonableness in one of my father's sermons, may have whispered to himself: 'That's me, though he does not know it'; or that the staid simplicity of another may have been translating the spirit of Pastor Neff's teaching from the High Alps of Dauphiné to an English provincial town? There, in his library, he would find

refreshment of mind when his round of ministerial activities had been heavy; when he had presided over some awkward church meeting and it had perhaps fallen to his lot to suffer fools gladly. He might turn to the shelves—and they were many—not concerned with doctrine, where stood the records of travel and biographies, records both of aspirations and of stumblings.

If it were incumbent upon me to distinguish more particularly among these volumes, I suppose I should think first of those that made the most direct appeal to my own varied moods. Some of them are in harmony with the lines:

*Your chilly stars I can forego,
This warm kind earth is all I know.*

My father knew it too, and the vagrancy that goes to the knowing of it must have sometimes stirred in his blood. It stirred in mine when I went exploring round the shelves and found a copy of *Roderick Random*, and followed breathlessly the picaresque adventures of that engaging scapegrace. Fiction, however, hardly had a footing there except for a set of the Waverley Novels and in some of the Victorian magazines, in one of which I read *The Trumpet Major* for the first time.

There was a small book there which I have never met with since—*The Life of Bamfylde Moore Carew*, styled the King of the Beggars, whose nomadic adventures took me captive. May be it was the imposing sequence of the names that attracted me in the first instance, and now these alone remain. Had, however, the gypsy King chanced to meet with George Borrow, his utterances might have ranked alongside those of Jasper Petulengro as recorded in *Lavengro*, who in reply to a question as to what he thought of death, uttered what is a veritable psalm of life: 'Night and day, brother, both sweet things; sun, moon and stars, brother, all sweet things; there's likewise the wind on the heath.' Can it be that the one book read and forgotten prepared the pathway for the other to my mind? If so, I am the more grateful to its author.

Among the books that told of the adventure of high endeavour were those of David Livingstone—*The Zambesi and its Tributaries*, and *Last Journals*—records of his work as missionary and as explorer; and by their side stood that classic of the field of Arctic exploration—Captain McClintock's *Narrative of the Fate of Sir John Franklin*, who perished with all his heroic men—the crews of the *Erebus* and *Terror*—but not until they had achieved the grand object of their voyage—the Discovery of the North-west Passage.

I have mentioned a few of the books in the library in choice of which the personal factor seems discernible, but it may perhaps be that thinking to see my father's face in a glass I have been looking at my own.

The greater names in philosophy, history, and biography, there liberally represented, with perhaps a slight Northern partiality, I will leave respectfully alone, as I did in my boyhood. It is my father's library I speak of, not mine, though some of these are to be found there. The poetry that was there was of the centre, and in some cases of the period. Mrs Browning was there, but not Robert. Two small editions of Burns and a first of *The Golden Treasury* bear marks of frequent use. Of two with illustrations I must speak, since not to do so would be an ingratitude because of the pleasure that they once gave me. These were Gray's *Elegy* with many illustrations drawn by Birket Foster in perfect harmony as it seemed with the sylvan quietude of the text, and the *Poetical Works* of Edgar Allan Poe with

illustrations drawn by many artists who, as it appears to me now in retrospect, strove with entire unison of purpose, and strove successfully, to interpret the aerial fantasies of the poet's dream.

In the evening of his life my father received a presentation of books on his becoming President of the Conference for the second time. His library thus became enriched with quartos of Ruskin: *Modern Painters*, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, and *Stones of Venice*. The remainder of the gift consisted of Bryce's *American Constitution* and Ogilvie's *Dictionary*. I mention these because the choice shows the balance of his mind when embracing an opportunity.

Looking back I see that the acquiring of his books must have involved a rigorous curtailment of luxuries. I grew up to think that books were the only natural and proper things on which to spend money apart from actual necessities.

I return to the poets because in one of these my father revealed something of himself. I was recently reading in his edition of the poems of William Cowper, and I noticed that he had marked a passage in *The Task*. It is to be found in Book IV, *The Winter Evening*. The lines run thus, the marking beginning at the third line:

*Address himself who will to the pursuit
Of honours, or emolument, or fame;
I shall not add myself to such a chase,
Thwart his attempts, or envy his success.
Some must be great. Great offices will have
Great talents. And God gives to every man
The virtue, temper, understanding, taste,
That lifts him into life; and lets him fall
Just in the niche he was ordain'd to fill.*

The lines were the only ones marked in the whole book. I could not but feel that in marking them he had felt in all humility that the words were applicable to himself, for God had given him the virtue, temper, understanding, taste, that had lifted him into life and had let him fall

Just in the niche he was ordain'd to fill.

The books which lined the niche, books among which he spent so many hours of study and preparation for service, were indeed for him, even as were his books for Prospero, 'dukedom large enough.'

On the same shelf, so to speak, as Merle d'Aubigny's *Reformation* and Muston's *History of the Waldenses*, was a small gilt-edged volume in dark green calf with blind tooling, with an informing title page which stated that it was *A Memoir of Felix Neff, Pastor of the High Alps*, and of his labours among the French Protestants of Dauphiné, a Remnant of the Primitive Christians of Gaul, by William Stephen Gilby, D.D., Prebendary of Durham and Vicar of Norham. It was the fourth edition of the work, and the author boldly claims in his preface that the rapid circulation of the first edition had been such as to confirm the opinion of those who are persuaded that biography, and especially religious biography, is one of the most attractive departments in literature. While under the spell of the book, as I have been recently, I am disposed to agree with him as regards his portrayal of the self-sacrificing labours of Pastor Neff among his Alpine flock, and of the historical connexion that exists between the Primitive and the Reformed Church of France. 'Ah! freedom is a noble thing!' wrote John Barbour, wellnigh six hundred years ago, and I had been brought up to believe that the first of all freedoms is that of

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'FOR THE TIME BEING'

W. H. AUDEN'S CHRISTMAS ORATORIO

MOST educated people if asked to name modern poets would soon mention Eliot, Auden, and Spender, but would probably find it easiest to say most about Eliot. Questioned about W. H. Auden they might well remember that he went to America in 1939, and that his poetry is both clever and obscure. He is most certainly a 'modern' poet. The better informed might begin to list his qualities, his interest in politics and international affairs, his desire for reform, his colloquial manner, his slapstick phrases and methods, his extreme cleverness, his apparent carelessness and over-striving for vivid effects. He could be sensibly accused of over-rapid work, cliquishness and obscurity; he could be attacked for almost slavish copying of other poets such as Kipling, Manley Hopkins, T. S. Eliot; and the critic could complain that he felt chilled by the poet's constant brightness and cleverness. Yet there are many who would agree with Stephen Spender that Auden is the most brilliant poet of his generation.

In attempting to look briefly at his career and examine in more detail some of his later work, I am greatly indebted to two books in particular: *Auden, An Introductory Essay*, by Richard Hoggart, and *Poetry Since 1939*, by Stephen Spender. The former is one of the best single studies known to me of a modern poet, and is certainly essential reading for anyone deeply interested in Auden.

His career falls roughly into three stages: the early poems before 1930, the left-wing poetry and the verse plays of the thirties, and the more mature work written in America. The varied and almost chaotic character of his early work has so many aspects that it makes his poetry extremely difficult to classify. He has many moods, many fancies, and very many changing poetic habits. But there is always a passionate interest in people, a realization that society is sick, and generally an ascent to soap-box or pulpit. At all times he has most acute observation, as when he sees

*... nervous people who will never marry,
Live upon dividends in the old world cottages
With an animal for friend and a volume of memoirs.*

He is tremendously in earnest, and to press his message on his reader he constantly uses the trick of linking abstract qualities with current everyday happenings or objects. This linking of ideas and objects, like the constant vivid similes, causes at first a shock, but later may tire us. The pungent comments and the startling contrasts do certainly hold our attention. A thing may be 'familiar as a stocking'; there are those who 'emptied their memories like slops'.

His manner is usually conversational, sometimes rather impersonal, but more often like loosely-regulated gossip.

*I want a form that's large enough to swim in,
And talk on any subject that I choose.*

But at other times he takes the music-hall or jazz song as his model, and puts over his most serious ideas in popular form. He has read Kipling to good effect.

*Get there if you can and see the land you once were proud to own
 Though the roads have almost vanished and the expresses never run . . .
 . . . Shut up talking, charming in the best suits to be had in town,
 Lecturing on navigation while the ship is going down.
 . . . If we really want to live, we'd better start at once to try;
 If we don't, it doesn't matter, but we'd better start to die.* (xxii)

And again,

*It's no use raising a shout,
 No, Honey, you can cut that right out.
 I don't want any more hugs;
 Make me some fresh tea, fetch me some rugs.
 Here I am, here are you:
 But what does it mean? What are we going to do?*

*. . . It wasn't always like this?
 Perhaps it wasn't, but it is.
 Put the car away; when life fails,
 What's the good of going to Wales?
 Here I am, here are you:
 What does it mean? What are we going to do? (ix)*

It is interesting to note that scenery, which is always secondary in importance to people with Auden, tends generally to be stark and bleak. We are often in the sweeping uplands, amongst the bare mountains, or in wide spacious places. Favourite images are of hawks or airmen. But Man is sick; he is 'depressed in the vale of no faith'; everywhere there is anxiety. Anxiety is the besetting evil which creeps into Auden's poems at all stages of his life. Before 1930 we have 'All this time was anxiety at night', and he watches

*traffic of magnificent cloud
 Moving without anxiety on open sky—*

Anxiety haunts his world in what we may call the second stage: the thirties, when his guides were Marx and Freud, and his hopes were set on left-wing reformers. His beliefs at this period were best expressed in the three verse plays which he wrote with Christopher Isherwood: 1935, *The Dog Beneath the Skin*; 1936, *The Ascent of F.6*; 1938, *On the Frontier*. It is not my intention to try to describe or assess these here. (In passing I might note, however, that when I saw these plays acted I much preferred the first. *The Ascent of F.6* seemed to me ruined by a rather silly Freudian ending, and the last play to be rather too childishly obvious in its political teaching. I should welcome the opportunity to see *The Dog Beneath the Skin* again.) Certainly that period showed the peak of Auden's didactic work, and it is interesting to note that he felt drama to be the best medium for his purpose. He himself said:

You cannot tell people what to do, you can only tell them parables; and that is what art really is, particular stories of particular people from which each, according to his immediate and peculiar needs, may draw his own conclusions.

In 1939 Auden went to America, and its influence on him has increased with the years. The complete upheaval in environment seems to have coincided with a change of direction in his thinking. Since that time all his work has been religious—or rather it has discussed and argued religious belief. It was as if he 'was trying to teach himself to believe'.

Richard Hoggart has shown that his two great influences have been the theologians, Kierkegaard and Niebuhr. The former has stressed the individual approach to religion, the individual's moral choice, and the individual's suffering and striving for faith. Niebuhr has written on freedom and necessity, the implications of living in the present age, and the fact of sin. These teachings develop much more fully points which Auden had previously found important; for he had always wanted a 'change of heart' in order to meet the situation of our age. Love, which had had so many meanings, came to mean Christian love, which in turn needs description and examination. But for this the great chance had to be taken, the wager taken up, a 'belief in the absurd' accepted, the 'leap in the dark' made. Auden, like Eliot, became a Christian; but whereas Eliot turned to Anglo-Catholicism, Auden's has been the Protestant approach. He has made few references to the Church.

Kierkegaard has shown that 'the matrix of sin is fear' and that it springs from dread and anxiety. Despair (sin) is a universal condition, so all men suffer in some degree. This can be overcome by man's individual faith, by learning to love (The old prayer is remembered: 'O Thou who lovest me, set my love in order.'), and by individual repentance and action.

Let us therefore be contrite but without anxiety . . .

Let us acknowledge our defeats but without despair . . .

Let us pray.

With these facts before us, we can turn to what is probably Auden's most interesting work, *For the Time Being*, first published in 1945. This consists of two sets of poems: *The Sea and the Mirror* and *For the Time Being: A Christmas Oratorio*.

The Sea and the Mirror has as its setting the ship on which the characters of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* are returning home. The Stage Manager first talks to the Critics, and then the various characters in widely different forms of verse and prose discuss the changes that their stay on the island has made on their lives. The whole poem is concerned with the relationship between creative imagination (the Mirror) and the vast problems of life (the Sea). It is also concerned with love, sin, despair, salvation.

Prefixed to the poem are lines of Emily Bronte:

*And am I wrong to worship where
Faith cannot doubt nor Hope despair
Since my own soul can grant my Prayer?
Speak God of Visions, plead for me
And tell me why I have chosen thee.*

The Stage Manager notes how our imaginative sympathy is aroused by the play, but sees the realities of life waiting for us. Faith alone can overcome this.

*Thanks for the evening; but how
Shall we satisfy when we meet,
Between Shall-I and I-will,
The lion's mouth whose hunger
No metaphors can fill?*

Then in phrases reminiscent of *The Tempest* and *Hamlet* he concludes:

*. . . this world of fact we love
Is unsubstantial stuff:
All the rest is silence
On the other side of the wall;
And the silence ripeness,
And the ripeness all.*

Prospero addresses Ariel for the last time, showing that the real value of art is to create imaginative sympathy. This is necessary to face reality, though art may have finally to be abandoned. He has done much for all the characters in the play who now journey into life as different men, but finally he himself must face the journey.

*This journey really exists,
And I have actually to take it inch by inch
Alone and on foot, without a cent in my pocket. . . .
Can I learn to suffer
Without saying something ironic or funny
On suffering?*

Each character then speaks to show the changes Prospero's art has made, but at the end of each, Antonio, who is the personified type of the doubter, expresses his disbelief, his unchanged and self-sufficient nature. In one sense each of the characters is part of Auden's own nature—part of our own nature. To the belief in love Antonio replies:

*Your all is partial Prospero,
My will is all my own:
Your need to love shall never know
Me: I am I, Antonio,
By choice myself alone.*

Ferdinand sings of earthly love as a proof of divine love, Stephano of drink as a shelter from life, Alonso of the vast harsh realities which surround kingship and for which peace must be found in love, Sebastian of the joy found in repentance and forgiveness, Miranda of simple thankfulness. Antonio rejects all. The aged Gonzalo, apparently a good man, now finds that he has been convicted in the presence of Truth of 'doubt and insufficient love'.

More than half the poem is taken up by a long address from Caliban to the Audience. Caliban speaks in prose. He is confident, unpoetical, ironic, conversational as he puts Humanity's questions about Life (the play) to the playwright (God). He represents the dark animal forces in man, which the man of faith and the sympathetic idealist must never forget. He notes, amongst many other wise

things, that we try to escape from meeting real life in two ways: by unquestioning acceptance with assumed thoughtless cheerfulness, and by refusing to commit ourselves in any way. Finally we must face not Art but 'the real word which is our only *raison d'être*'. The poem ends with a short lyric from Ariel to Caliban. Both imaginative and realistic sides of our nature must combine: the ethereal Ariel is 'hopelessly in love with you' (Caliban), so 'never hope to say farewell'.

For the Time Being has a secondary title, *A Christmas Oratorio*, and is dedicated to Auden's mother, who died in 1941. It is headed by the text from Romans: 'What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid'. The reason why these sentences should be superimposed on the Christmas story are not clear to me, though it is probable that Auden sees in the human society at the time of Herod similar problems to the present, and finds only in faith the solution to man's anxiety and loneliness and fear—the results of sin. Hoggart has noted that in a Review in 1941 Auden said: 'The special Christian revelation, The Incarnation, occurred precisely at that moment in history when an impasse seemed to have been reached'.

Thus, the Oratorio is for today, we may presume; it is truly 'For the Time Being'.

In construction it consists of nine movements: Advent, The Annunciation; The Temptation of St. Joseph; The Summons; The Vision of the Shepherds; At the Manger; The Meditation of Simeon; The Massacre of the Innocents; The Flight into Egypt. With only one exception each movement consists of three to five sections, and as in a similar musical composition has solos, duets, choruses and fugal choruses. There is also a Narrator who makes comments in a conversational but detached manner, to bind the whole thing together and to make clearer the relevance of the story to the present time. Without trying completely to summarize the main story or argument, let us glance at some of the outstanding characteristics.

In *Advent*, Choruses and Narrator describe the despair (Kierkegaard's *sin*) that overwhelms man, and the national or international situation which is mere horror to the thinking mind. The Narrator describes it:

*For nothing like it has happened before. It's as if
We had left our house for five minutes to mail a letter
And during that time the living room had changed places
With the room behind the mirror over the fireplace.*

The Chorus takes up this situation—a mixture of 'the Abomination', the 'wrath of God', and the crazy nightmare world of Lewis Carroll's *Alice*.

*Alone, alone, about a dreadful wood
Of conscious evil runs a lost mankind.*

By nothing except a miracle can Man be saved.

In *The Annunciation* each individual's four faculties—Intuition, Feeling, Sensation, Thought—demonstrate their own chaos and their lack of integration. They are interrupted by a single word from the Angel Gabriel: 'Wake'. Later passages suggest that it is through Mary that the integration of man's nature will come.

The Temptation of St Joseph is written in slangy music-hall verse, with choruses of spivs and 'wide-boys' cynically expressing their sure doubts and clever worldly knowledge—'Yes, it may be so. Is it likely? No'. There are various temptations, varying in kind from the coarse practical cynicism of the man of the world, to the more subtle kinds offering choices of second-rate love, love for one human being only, self-love. The Chorus ends the section with

*Blessed Woman,
Excellent Man,
Redeem for the dull the
Average way,
That common ungifted
Natures may
Believe that their normal
Vision can
Walk to perfection.*

In *The Summons* the star of the Nativity calls men. The three wise men explain why they follow it: the first because he has failed to find Truth in science, the second because his belief in progress has collapsed, the third because of the failure of his intellect to comprehend life. There are echoes of T. S. Eliot's *Journey of the Magi* and *Four Quartets* here. Next the glories of the worldly Cæsar are sung in a fugal-chorus which hymns the triumph of material power and the State.

*When he says, This is good, this loved;
When he says, This is bad, that is hated.
Great is Cæsar: God must be with Him.*

But to the totalitarian argument the Narrator, after echoing Hitler's words about the security of the Empire for a thousand years, replies quietly

*If we were never alone, or always too busy,
Perhaps we might even believe what we know is not true:
But no one is taken in, at least not all of the time;
In our bath, or the subway, or the middle of the night,
We know very well we are not unlucky but evil,
That the dream of a Perfect State or No State at all,
To which we fly for refuge, is a part of our punishment.*

Later in the poem the Shepherds, simple men who at least never despair about existence—'No, I don't know why, But I'm glad I'm here,'—hear the angels, and run to love, run to Bethlehem. There with the wise men, 'by the light of an unusual star' they find the child with Mary singing him to sleep:

*Dream. In human dreams earth ascends to Heaven
Where no one needs pray nor ever feel alone.*

All leave the stable realizing that they have to live in this knowledge, and that their journey begins again. So they pray to be delivered from intellectual pride and sensual escapism as they face life anew.

There is an abrupt change with *The Meditation of Simeon*. When T. S. Eliot was becoming an Anglo-Catholic he wrote 'A Song for Simeon', using Simeon as the type of man who only discovers truth late in life. Auden uses the same method, and in a prose section expresses through Simeon's words presumably his own search for, and discovery of truth. But Auden's Simeon is a younger man still full of vigour and the spirit of adventure. The unavailing attempts to be self-sufficient are described, and the solution found in the apparent impossibility of the Word being made flesh.

Wherefore, having seen Him, not in some prophetic vision of what might be, but with the eyes of our own weakness as to what actually is, we are bold to say that we have seen our salvation.

Chorus: Now and for ever, we are not alone.

The Massacre of the Innocents is a prose monologue by Herod. He is taken as the type of the liberal humanist who has laboured greatly for his age and who achieved great success in bettering his subjects' physical conditions. All is going so well—except for minor irritations—in his materialistic paradise.

Soft drinks and sandwiches may be had in the inns at reasonable prices. Allotment gardening has become popular. . . . It is a long time since anyone stole the park benches or murdered the swans. . . . Yes, in twenty years I have managed to do a little.

But his complacent urbanity has been upset at this strange story of a god being born. This story is, of course, ridiculous; the notion of a finite god is absurd. But people are incurably superstitious, and their beliefs will be dangerous in his planned and ordered world. Society will be upturned: 'Every corner boy will congratulate himself: "I'm such a sinner that God himself has come down in person to save me. I must be a devil of a fellow."' And suppose the story were true? Then man is in a terrible plight, for God would expect man to live a sinless life. The Military must be called in to settle affairs. In self-pity that he, the humanist, must become cruel and violent, he finishes:

I've worked like a slave. Ask anyone you like. I read all official dispatches without skipping. I've taken elocution lessons. I've hardly ever taken bribes. . . . I brush my teeth every night. . . . I object. I'm a liberal. I want everyone to be happy. I wish I had never been born.

So the liberal American politician faces the crisis, mortally afraid of the subjective, the imaginative, and the spiritual in life. The soldiers who go about their brutal business sing cheerfully callous songs.

The final section of the poem, *The Flight into Egypt*, expresses the grief of man as he journeys through the desert. Much of the world, even if bad, has been loved. The Holy Family is beset with sophisticated tempters who make cheap jokes at culture and religion. Finally the Narrator winds up the whole affair. It is over, and the Christmas decorations can again be put away.

*Once again
As in previous years we have seen the actual
Vision and failed to do more than entertain
It as an agreeable
Possibility. . . .*

After the raptures, the hopes, the visions, comes ordinary unglamorous everyday life again. There is again the reaction of the morning after. In the meantime there is 'the Time Being to redeem from insignificance'.

A chorus ends the Oratorio:

*He is the Way.
Follow Him through the Land of Unlikeness:
You will see rare beasts, and have unique adventure.*

*He is the Truth.
Seek Him in the Kingdom of Anxiety:
You will come to a great city that has expected your return for years.*

*He is the Life.
Love Him in the world of the Flesh:
And at your marriage all its occasions shall dance for joy.*

So that is where for the present W. H. Auden has arrived. His life has been a violent and eventful journey with many changes of opinion, but always a burning intensity of purpose. Now that purpose has been rediscovered: it is that God must be sought in our own age and in all parts of our life. Only thus can we become integrated within; only thus can we have full understanding of our fellows; only thus 'can we depart from our anxiety into His peace'. T. B. SHEPHERD

THE SEPHARDIM OF ENGLAND¹

THE Sephardim of England are those Jews of Spanish and Portuguese origin whose ancestors laid the foundations of the present Anglo-Jewish community in the middle years of the seventeenth century. Hardly had this work of re-settlement begun, for such in fact it was, when other Jews from central and eastern Europe, the Ashkenazim, began to arrive also. It was not long before these latter outnumbered the earlier arrivals, but although for most communal purposes the two groups gradually merged into one, the Sephardim never completely lost their identity, and have succeeded to this day in preserving certain distinctive features of their own tradition. Their pronunciation of Hebrew, for example, differs from that of their Ashkenazi neighbours. It is the pronunciation familiar to all Christian theological students, and has been officially adopted as the standard pronunciation of modern Hebrew in the State of Israel.

These are great days for the Sephardim in England. On 19th December 1951, at a service attended by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh in their 'ancient synagogue' of Bevis Marks, they celebrated the 250th anniversary of the opening of that historic shrine. In four years from now there will be the three-hundredth anniversary of the return of Jews to England in 1656 to celebrate. In recognition of the first of these two great occasions, the Wardens of the Bevis Marks authorized the publication of a history of the Sephardim in England by Albert M. Hyamson, the doyen of Anglo-Jewish historians. It is a story told with a frankness and attention to detail that at times are almost embarrassing.

It is possible in this article to glance only at a few facets of this fascinating history and impossible not to begin with some of the events connected with the return of Jews to England after an official absence of some 400 years. Their expulsion had been ordered by a decree of Edward the First, enacted on 18th July 1290 (which happened, incidentally, to be the solemn fast of the ninth of Ab in the Jewish calendar). They were to leave before All Saints' Day in that year, with the sole exception of any who had been baptized!

Similar expulsions took place from Spain and Portugal in 1492 and 1496 respectively. Again exception was made only in the case of baptized Jews. Of those who took advantage of this provision many succeeded in combining outward conformity with the religious requirements of the State with a secret observance of their own Jewish traditions. They came to be known as Marranos and as recently as 1926 the Anglo-Jewish Association in London published a report by Lucien Wolf on *The Marranos or Crypto-Jews of Portugal*, in which the survival of a community of these crypto-Jews, directly descended from the Marranos of the fifteenth century, was clearly established. These people, still practising Judaism within the limits of their understanding of it, were anxious, after the lapse of centuries, for reunion with their kinsmen, a reunion which was in fact brought about, largely through the initiative of the Sephardi community in London.

Large numbers of those who fled from Spain and Portugal, however, found refuge in the Netherlands, and it was from Amsterdam that Menasseh ben Israel,

¹ The history of the Sephardim in England by Albert M. Hyamson (*The Sephardim of England*) referred to in this article is published by Methuen (35s.). Another volume published in connexion with the 250th Anniversary of the Bevis Marks Synagogue, catalogues, illustrates, and describes the plate, furnishings, and other ritual objects which constitute the Treasure of the Sephardic community in London—it is entitled *Treasures of a London Temple*, is compiled by a group of art experts, and published by Taylors Foreign Press (30s.).

the rabbi of the Sephardi community in that city, came to London in 1656 to plead with Cromwell for the re-admission of Jews into England. In spite of the strong support of Cromwell, however, this attempt to secure a constitutional basis for the re-establishment of an Anglo-Jewish community failed, but the failure was a relative one only. Legal authorities had been consulted and had given it as their opinion that there could be no legal objection to the presence of professing Jews in this country. More positive recognition came shortly afterwards in a characteristically English way, not as the result of a political act or constitutional measure, but in consequence of a court decision on a particular case.

When, in 1656, war broke out between this country and Spain, a certain Antonio Rodrigues Robles who, as a Spaniard, had held official appointments in the Canaries before escaping to England, found himself, as an enemy alien, threatened with confiscation of his property. In appealing against this treatment, Robles publicly announced that he was a Jew. The Admiralty Commissioners who had instigated the proceedings against him were thus confronted with an interesting dilemma. Could a person threatened with certain disabilities on account of his nationality claim exemption from those disabilities on religious grounds. The decision to ignore the question of nationality and to allow the appeal on the religious issue provides a significant anticipation of similar treatment meted out to those Jews of German nationality who, at the outbreak of war in 1939, were as Jews exempted from the special restrictions imposed upon 'aliens of enemy origin'.

In 1656, however, the case of Antonio Robles was the case of every Jew in the country, and the success of his plea the opening of the door to the legal recognition of an Anglo-Jewish community. Before the end of the year a house had been leased in London to serve as a synagogue. A few months later, in February 1657, a piece of land in Mile End had been secured for use as a Jewish cemetery. Shortly afterwards the first Jew to be licensed as a broker, Solomon Dormido, was admitted to the London Stock Exchange without being required to take the Christological oath.

There were still many difficulties to overcome, however, before the removal of all legal disabilities. In 1743, for example, a member of the Sephardi community, Eliaz de Paz, left a sum of £1,200 for the establishment of a Yeshiba, or religious school. One of the purposes of this proposed institution was defined as 'the advancement of Judaism'. The validity of the bequest was challenged, and eventually disallowed by the Lord Chancellor on the ground that it was 'for the propagation of the Jewish religion, and though it is said that this is a part of our religion, yet the intent of this bequest must be taken to be contradiction of the Christian religion, which is a part of the law of the land'.

The fact that they were devotees of this religion thus held to be in contradiction to Christianity did not however prevent the acceptance by the authorities concerned of a contribution made by the Sephardim some sixty years earlier to the fund for the rebuilding of St Paul's after its destruction in the Great Fire of 1666. Moreover, this was only one of several contributions given for various purposes to other of their neighbouring Churches. Nor did this consideration exempt several members of the Sephardi community from the payment of fines imposed on them as the price of exemption from the offices of Churchwarden or overseers in the parishes where they lived and to which they had been elected—presumably in their absence.

In this respect the Sephardim took a leaf from the notebook of their non-Jewish neighbours and themselves instituted a system of fines for various 'offences' including refusal to take up office. It was a form of indirect taxation which at times was shamelessly exploited as a means of replenishing the community's depleted financial resources. It was, indeed, to one man's objection to this practice that England owed her first Prime Minister of Jewish origin.

In the autumn of 1813 Isaac d'Israeli, the father of the Prime Minister-to-be, was elected in his absence to the office of Parnass or warden of the Congregation. The 'honour' was one to which he certainly did not aspire. He had no antipathy to Judaism, but neither had he any great interest in it. He was above all else a man of letters, willing enough to pay his dues as a member of the synagogue, but for the rest, desiring only to be left in peace. To the letter informing him of his election to office he replied courteously suggesting that there must have been some mistake, and asking to be excused acceptance of the honour.

When told that this request might be granted on payment of a fine, he politely expressed his regret at his inability to accept such a condition and eventually, after a lengthy correspondence, insisted with obvious reluctance that his name be removed from the list of members of the community. In due course, acting on the advice of a non-Jewish friend, he allowed his children to be baptized. Had this not happened, Benjamin d'Israeli, who, as a baptized Christian was able to enter Parliament in 1837, would have been prevented, as a Jew, from doing so until 1858, by which time the chances of his rising to the office of Prime Minister would have been exceedingly remote. It was not until 1879, however, that the practice of imposing fines, by then thoroughly disapproved and discredited, was finally abandoned.

Another chapter in this fascinating story concerns the building in which the life of this community centred. The house leased for use as a synagogue in 1656 quickly proved inadequate for the purpose. The lease had been for twenty-one years only, and the community itself was at that stage growing rapidly. An extension of the lease for a further twenty-four years was secured and arrangements made to remodel and enlarge the existing property. This again proved only a temporary expedient, and in 1700 the foundation stone of a new building was laid. The builder was a Quaker, Joseph Avis, who estimated that the work would cost £2,650. When the actual cost proved to be less than the estimate—what halcyon days those must have been—Avis refused to accept more than this amount on the ground that it would have been against his conscience to make a profit from a building to be devoted to the worship of God.

On such a foundation of goodwill the Synagogue in Bevis Marks was built. Modelled on the famous Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam and, like its prototype, happily spared the ravages of war, it remains to this day almost exactly as it was at the time it was opened in 1701. So strong, indeed, is the element of tradition in its furnishing and upkeep that the candles which provide the principal means of illumination are still obtained from the firm which has supplied them for the last hundred years.

But those responsible for its maintenance have rarely been free from anxiety. Apart from constant financial difficulties, an embarrassing situation was created by a general drift of the community from the east to the west end of London. Thus, when on 14th January 1883 the 'gentlemen of the Mahamad' (as the members of the governing body of the Synagogue were called) presented their annual report

they were driven to conclude that 'our ancient Synagogue no longer serves its purpose, nor is it resorted to for prayer by a large number of the Congregation. The entire body of its supporters has left the neighbourhood and the Synagogue is practically deserted.'

The supporters who had left the district had not, of course, left the community. A new synagogue had been built further west in Bryanston Street, near the Marble Arch, and there was already talk of the need for enlarging this new building. Bevis Marks was seemingly redundant. The inevitable committee was set up, which in due course recommended that the entire property owned by the Sephardi community in Bevis Marks be let on building lease. The demolition of the synagogue itself was envisaged. The report was formally adopted and the necessary procedure instituted to carry its recommendations into effect.

Happily, however, business properties were not greatly sought after in that part of London in the 1880's, with the result that two years later the synagogue was still intact. By this time a 'Bevis Marks Anti-Demolition League' had been set up, and in 1886 a petition was presented to the Mahamad asking for a review of the whole matter.

'Your petitioners', declared the members of the Anti-Demolition League, 'harbour the keenest love for the Bevis Marks Synagogue, a building forming as it does the monument of Anglo-Jewish liberation, associated as it is so intimately with the return of Jews to this happy land, where from the day that your renowned ancestor, Menasseh ben Israel, set foot, our liberties have deepened and broadened with the progress of our country. They feel that the demolition of such a building would be an irreparable loss to the Jewish community.'

They might have added that its destruction would have been a loss also to the nation as a whole, for although the petition was not enthusiastically received at the time of its presentation, some forty years later the building was scheduled an Ancient Monument by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. So it remains to this day, a treasured possession not of the Sephardim only but of the nation as a whole, and well worthy of a visit by anyone interested to see the almost perfect example of the traditional Jewish synagogue.

Another aspect of the story of particular interest to the non-Jew concerns the problem of decorum in worship. Samuel Pepys, who on 14th October 1663 visited the synagogue in Creechurch Lane, the forerunner of the Bevis Marks Synagogue, was not very favourably impressed.

'But, Lord,' he wrote, 'to see the disorder, laughing, sporting and no attention, but confusion in all their service, more like brutes than people who know the true God, would make a man forswear ever seeing them more; and indeed I never did see so much or could have imagined there had been any religion in the world so absurdly performed.'

Not recorded in this volume but pertinent in this connexion is an account in John Wesley's *Journal* of how, on Saturday, 9th September 1738, having waited in an inn on the quayside at Rotterdam till past four in the afternoon for a ship to bring him to England, he 'stepped into the Jews' synagogue which lies near to the waterside'. His reactions were curiously similar to those of Samuel Pepys in Creechurch Lane.

'I do not wonder', he wrote in his *Journal*, 'that so many Jews (especially those who have any reflection) utterly abjure all religion. My spirit was moved within

me at that horrid, senseless pageantry, that mockery of God which they call public worship'.

It is possible that Wesley, having waited so long for a boat which apparently did not arrive, was hardly in a frame of mind to enter sympathetically into a service conducted in a strange language and in accordance with an unfamiliar tradition. Certainly there is nothing in any aspect of Jewish worship to merit the description of 'horrid, senseless pageantry'. But lack of decorum there may very well have been, as indeed there still is in many synagogues, even today.

What the casual visitor can hardly be expected to understand, however, is that this apparent lack of reverence may reflect, not indifference to the reality and the presence of God, but rather its opposite. For to the Jew, especially to the Jew living the segregated life of the Ghetto, the synagogue was never exclusively, though it was always pre-eminently, a house of prayer. The house of God it certainly was, but in the very literal sense of being a home. There were, naturally, times and seasons of the greatest solemnity. Nothing could be more reverently observed, for example, than some parts of the liturgy for the Day of Atonement. But there were also times when it seemed perfectly natural for those who felt so much at home in the presence of a God whom they believed to be vitally concerned in the life, interests, and occupation of His children, to laugh and joke in His presence, even while other members of the family were busily occupied in saying their prayers. Since there was nothing outside the range of His knowledge and interest, there was nothing that could not be thought, felt, and even spoken in His presence.

The dangers inherent in such a conception are obvious, and as the Sephardim came more and more into contact with their non-Jewish neighbours, they themselves became increasingly aware of them. Indeed, there are no fewer than fourteen references to the question of decorum in the synagogue in the index to Mr Hyamson's book, and it was growing uneasiness about this problem which led eventually to the great secession of the nineteenth century which resulted in the opening on 27th February 1842 of what is now the West London Synagogue of British Jews, the chief synagogue of the Reform Jewish community. And there even Samuel Pepys might feel at home.

But there is danger also in the opposite extreme where everything is so precisely and properly ordered that attention focuses all too easily on the outward trappings of worship; on the skill of the executant, whether he be preacher, organist, or even a member of the choir! It is the genius of Judaism that it has done so much to interpret in practice and not simply in theory the fact that there can be no true religion that is not related to every part of life, nor any real life that is not in the truest sense religious.

The Sephardim of England would be the last to claim that they had successfully lived up to this ideal. The problem of decorum in the synagogue was only one, and by no means the most troublesome, of the many problems both communal and personal, with which they were constantly beset. But it is impossible to read their story without realizing that beneath a troubled surface there remains a deep-rooted sense of the unity of all life, deriving from and constantly renewed by the fundamental affirmation of Jews in every age of the absolute unity of God himself.

WILLIAM W. SIMPSON

THE WILL TO BELIEVE

William James's Theory of Faith

I

IN HIS famous essay *The Will to Believe*,¹ supplemented by another essay, *The Sentiment of Rationality*, William James offered a defence of faith which has had a continuing influence in many religious circles. His teaching in these writings represented a halting-place (named by Perry, 'Fideism') in his movement toward a fully-developed pragmatist philosophy. When James applies his later doctrine to religion he does so only in very general terms, discussing belief in 'the salvation of the world' instead of the more precise issue of divine existence.² But his earlier 'will to believe' argument, which we are to examine here, is more fully worked out.

The kind of faith of which it is a defence is the kind which is least obviously defensible. It is not quite that described by the schoolboy who said that 'Faith is when you believe, 'cos you want to, something you know ain't true'. But neither is it, on a superficial view, greatly removed from this; for it consists in treating as certain a proposition which you know (or believe) is not certain. 'Faith', says James, 'is synonymous with working hypothesis. . . . [The believer's] intimate persuasion is that the odds in its favor are strong enough to warrant him in acting all along on the assumption of its truth'.³ Again, 'Faith means belief [strong enough to determine action] in something concerning which doubt is still theoretically possible'.⁴

II

Before examining James's main conclusions, it may be of interest to refer to a subsidiary question, of some intrinsic importance, which he raises in the course of his discussion. He points out that 'there are . . . cases where faith creates its own verification';⁵ there are truths which 'cannot become true till our faith has made them so'.⁶ Such cases are fairly frequent in ordinary life. The performance of any feat requiring a steady nerve is largely dependent upon the agent's own belief that his powers are adequate for the task. Tight-rope walking, for example, must be a supreme act of 'faith'. On such occasions the proposition, 'I can do this' is true if it is believed sufficiently wholeheartedly, and false if it is not. Faith creates fact! A like phenomenon is found in recovery from illnesses. It is sometimes the case that if a patient loses hope he will relapse, but that if he firmly expects to recover he is likely to do so. And the speed of recuperation is often related to the strength of the patient's own 'faith' in his recovery.

Prevenient or creative faith also plays an important part in the sphere of personal relationships. Such a fact as A's liking for B may depend partly upon B's faith that A likes him, and upon his resulting courtesy, trust, and reciprocal affection. As James says: 'The previous faith on my part in your liking's existence is in such cases what makes your liking come. But if I stand aloof, and refuse to budge an inch until I have objective evidence, until you shall have done something apt, as

¹ First published in 1896.

² R. B. Perry, *The Thought and Character of William James*, II, 208ff. ³ *Pragmatism* (1907), Chap. 8.

⁴ *The Will to Believe and Other Essays* (1897), p. 95.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 90.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 97.

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 96.

the absolutists say, *ad extorquendum assensum meum*, ten to one your liking never comes.'⁹

Finally, as James also points out:

A social organism of any sort whatever, large or small, is what it is because each member proceeds to his own duty with a trust that the other members will simultaneously do theirs. Wherever a desired result is achieved by the co-operation of many independent persons, its existence as a fact is a pure consequence of the precursive faith in one another of those immediately concerned.⁹

And he concludes: 'Where faith in a fact can help create the fact, that would be an insane logic which should say that faith running ahead of scientific evidence is the 'lowest kind of immorality' into which a thinking being can fall.'¹⁰

Although these examples seem undeniably real, the suggestion that a proposition can be made true by the purely external and accidental circumstance that someone believes it, is on the face of it remarkable, and demands further investigation. If such propositions always referred to the future their oddness might be regarded as only apparent. For it is a familiar fact that our beliefs affect our actions and that our actions in turn cause changes in the world. But, unfortunately, verification-creating beliefs do not always refer to the future. They not only take such forms as 'I shall succeed in doing X', but also such forms as 'I can do X'. And whereas the first of these statements appears to be about the future, the second appears to be about the present. And yet a proposition describing present fact must, surely, already be true or false irrespective of whether it is believed.

The solution of the problem is, I think, linguistic. The word 'can' performs a hypothetical-prophetic rather than a descriptive function. 'I can' means (in this context) 'I shall if I try'. Thus 'I can do X' is a proposition about any future attempt I may make to accomplish X. And that this proposition should be true if I believe it (and go on believing it up to and into the moment of action), but false if I disbelieve it, would be no more odd than the fact that the proposition 'It will rain here tomorrow' is true if certain meteorological events are now occurring (and continue to develop according to a given pattern) and false if they are not. There is then, on reflection, no serious logical puzzle involved in the suggestion that faith may sometimes have the power to produce its own verification.

But whilst James's doctrine of creative faith is thus far well founded, it is of limited application. It is relevant to beliefs about matters which depend wholly or partly upon processes governed by ourselves. But—to pass directly to the belief with which we are specially concerned—can it apply to the conviction that there is a God? Can human faith turn an 'atheous' into a theistic Universe? It would, of course, be possible to construct in thought a metaphysical system within which this could happen; but in terms of the Judaic-Christian view of God as Creator (with which James was working) such a possibility does not arise. Human faith cannot create the Creator of the human race. Faith may perhaps be required for the discovery of God—this, as we shall see, is James's main contention—but it cannot be required to bring God into existence. The part which, as James has noted, is played by the faith-attitude in human personal relationships, is not strictly relevant, for such faith does not create the person of the friend, but only makes that person friendly. It might be argued that the faith-attitude has a like part to play in the

⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 23-4.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 24.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 25.

relationship between man and God. But this would not be faith making theism true. On the contrary, such faith could only have any effect if theism were already true; for otherwise there would be nothing in the cosmos to respond to our advances of trust and worship. Precursive faith, then, is a real and important phenomenon, but it does not bear directly upon the question of the validity of theistic belief.

James himself does not appear to have been entirely clear as to this. He hooks his mention of precursive faith on to his main 'will to believe' argument as though they were adjoining links in a single logical chain. But in fact the two topics are distinct. The only real justification for the reference to precursive faith in his essay would be the pedagogic one that it might serve to break down a reader's non-rational prejudice against the faith-attitude and so prepare his mind for the argument proper.

III

James in *The Will to Believe* adopts a more obviously religious conception of the divine nature; but otherwise his teaching is basically that of Pascal's Wager.¹¹ He begins from a like state of agnosticism. Nothing can be gained, he says, by waiting for proof that God does or does not exist, for such proof may never be forthcoming. But nevertheless the issue is of tremendous concern to us; there is indeed no more important question than that concerning the reality of God. And 'we cannot escape the issue by remaining sceptical and waiting for more light, because, although we do avoid error in that way *if religion be untrue*, we lose the good, *if it be true*, just as certainly as if we positively chose to disbelieve'.¹² The decision between belief and disbelief is thus a 'living, momentous, and forced option', and one which nevertheless cannot be decided by rational inquiry. Whichever way we decide, we run a risk. 'In either case we *act*, taking our life in our hands'.¹³ If we believe, we risk accepting falsehood; if we disbelieve, we risk losing the truth and the practical good which in this case accompanies it. Which of these risks should we accept? The sceptic is he who prefers to risk losing the truth:

Better risk loss of truth than chance of error, that is your faith-vetoer's exact position. He is actively playing his stake as much as the believer is; he is backing the field against the religious hypothesis, just as the believer is backing the religious hypothesis against the field. To preach scepticism to us as a duty until 'sufficient evidence' for religion be found, is tantamount therefore to telling us, when in presence of the religious hypothesis, that to yield to our fear of its being error is wiser and better than to yield to our hope that it may be true. It is not intellect against all passions, then; it is only intellect with one passion laying down its law. And by what, forsooth, is the supreme wisdom of this passion warranted? Dupery for dupery, what proof is there that dupery through hope is so much worse than dupery through fear? I, for one, can see no proof; and I simply refuse obedience to the scientist's command to imitate his kind of option, in a case where my own stake is important enough to give me the right to choose my own form of risk.

If religion be true and the evidence for it be still insufficient, I do not wish . . . to forfeit my sole chance in life of getting upon the winning side, that chance depending, of course, on my willingness to run the risk of acting as if my passion need of taking the world religiously might be prophetic and right.¹⁴

¹¹ cf. Webb, *Pascal's Philosophy of Religion*, p. 55.

¹² *The Will to Believe*, p. 26.

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 26-7.

He is asserting, in other words, our right to believe at our own risk whatever we feel an inner need to believe. One further passage should be quoted (from *The Sentiment of Rationality*) to underline the essentially sporting nature of James's attitude to these ultimate issues of belief:

Of course I yield to my belief in such a case as this or distrust it, alike at my peril, just as I do in any of the great practical decisions of life. If my inborn faculties are good, I am a prophet; if poor, I am a failure: nature spews me out of her mouth, and there is an end of me. In the total game of life we stake our persons all the while; and if in its theoretic part our person will help us to a conclusion, surely we should also stake them there, however inarticulate they may be.¹³

This is the essence of the 'will to believe' or, as it would more accurately be called, the 'right to believe', argument. James adds, however, a further consideration in favour of the reasonableness of theistic belief. He points out that the relevant 'live option' for most of us in the West concerns the existence of a *personal* God, and that in order to know persons we have to be willing to make a venture of faith and to 'meet them half way'. He says:

The universe is no longer a mere *It* to us, but a *Thou*, if we are religious; and any relation that may be possible from person to person might be possible here. . . . To take a trivial illustration: just as a man who in a company of gentlemen made no advances, asked a warrant for every concession, and believed no one's word without proof, would cut himself off by such churlishness from all the social rewards that a more trustworthy spirit would earn, so here, one who should shut himself up in snarling logicity and try to make the gods extort his recognition willy-nilly, or not get it at all, might cut himself off for ever from his only opportunity of making the gods' acquaintance. . . . I, therefore, for one, cannot see my way to accepting the agnostic rules for truth-seeking, or wilfully agree to keep my willing nature out of the game. I cannot do so for this plain reason, that a rule of thinking which would absolutely prevent me from acknowledging certain kinds of truth if those kinds of truth were really there, would be an irrational rule.¹⁴

All valuable personal relationship, James points out, is genetically based upon faith, upon treating others in a more trustful way than the evidence currently warrants. If we were never willing to trust people in this manner we should never find out whether they are in fact trustworthy. Without an element of venture, of willingness to anticipate proof, such relationships as love and friendship could never arise. Indeed, we might say, elaborating James's brief discussion, that *knowledge* in the personal sphere consists precisely in faith which has been put into practice and verified in our experience. But clearly, if this is so, we cannot have the verification without the experiment. We cannot achieve a tested and verified faith if we refuse to begin with an untested and unverified faith; we cannot enjoy the flower if we never plant the seed. To decline faith, in the personal sphere, is thus to decline knowledge also, for knowledge here is simply faith which has been acted upon and found to be true.

But whilst this consideration, drawn from the character of the 'I-Thou' world, is both sound and important, it adds little to James's 'right to believe' argument. For it merely underlines the fact that *if the theistic hypothesis is true* we shall miss

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 27-8.

the truth by refusing faith. It does not however increase the odds in favour of that hypothesis. It only makes our loss more certain if it should 'win' without our having backed it. The argument from the nature of personal relationship is relevant to the neighbouring topic of faith as trust (*fiducia*), but not to that of faith as cognition (*fides*).

IV

We now have before us the full range of James's discussion, and can proceed to the stage of criticism.

The first thing to be said about this view of faith is that it is not the view of the ordinary religious believer. The ordinary believer does not regard his faith as a prudent gamble. He regards it as in some sense *knowledge of God*. He does not think it possible, except as a purely verbal concession, that God might not exist. His attitude is thus completely different from that of the gambler. For the latter knows that he is dealing in uncertainties, whilst the man of faith believes that he has met with certainty.

Keeping, however, within the borders of James's theory itself, we may note some of the consequences which would follow from an attempt to take his argument seriously. It would, I think, be found to prove too much. For it authorizes us to believe ('by faith') any proposition, not demonstrably false, which it might be advantageous to us (in this world or another) to have accepted. It is true that James tries to narrow down our licence for gratuitous belief to 'live options', i.e. to propositions which we already have some inclination to adopt. But surely this restriction is unwarranted. For whether or not a belief constitutes a 'live option' to a particular mind has no bearing upon its truth or falsity. All sorts of accidental circumstances may predispose us toward a proposition; the mere fact that it is widely held in the society around us is often sufficient. Thus, for a Chinese Confucianism tends to be a live option, for an Arab Mohammedanism, and for a Briton Christianity; and each religion to the exclusion of the others. But it would clearly be absurd to suppose that the truth varies geographically with the liveliness of the various options. If we are rational, then, and have been convinced by 'The Will to Believe,' the mere thought of what might be gained if a proposition is true will automatically render it a 'live option' to us, in whatever part of the world we may happen to live. Thus the example which James offers of a thoroughly 'dead option' is an example of one which his own argument, if sound, should bring to life in any thoughtful mind. He supposes the Mahdi to write to us, saying: 'I am the Expected One whom God has created in his effulgence. You shall be infinitely happy if you confess me; otherwise you shall be cut off from the light of the sun. Weigh, then, your infinite gain if I am genuine against your finite sacrifice if I am not!'¹⁷ I do not see how James could consistently reject such an invitation. For if it is rational to believe in the Christian God on the ground that this *may* be the only way of gaining the supreme truth, then it is equally rational to believe in any alternative religious system which *may* also be the only pathway to Truth. The fact that our minds are more accustomed to one claim than to another is an irrelevancy which cannot justify us in insuring our souls against one risk only amongst so many. To a purely rational mind, liberated from the accidents of geography and illuminated

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 6.

by James's argument, it must appear as important to believe in the Mahdi or Mohammed or any other self-assertive person who offers a heaven and threatens a hell, as to believe in the orthodox God of Europe and America. And indeed the greater the promises and threats the more rational the belief.

However, if we were to set out on a course of rational self-insurance against all possible risks of losing the truth, we should quickly find that the promised rewards are for the most part mutually exclusive. In order to make sure of one good, if that good exists, we have to risk losing the other goods, if *they* exist. Accordingly, the only reasonable course would be to wager our faith where the greatest good is to be hoped for if our faith should turn out to be justified. That is to say, we should all believe in that religion or philosophy which we most wish to be true. For it may be that it is true, and that only by 'pinning our faith' on it can we realize its benefits.

But when we have unpacked James's conception of faith thus far we cannot help asking whether it is much better—or indeed any better—than an impressive recommendation of 'wishful thinking'. For is he not saying that since the truth is unknown to us we may believe what we like, and that whilst we are about it we had better believe what we like most? This is certainly unjust to James's intention; but is it unjust to the logic of his argument? I do not see that it is.

It need only be added in conclusion that the upshot of this discussion is not in any degree to discredit religious faith, but to cast doubt upon the adequacy of the voluntarist analysis of it offered by a number of thinkers, but by none so eloquently and persuasively as by William James.

JOHN H. HICK

'THE WORLD CALL' AND NON-THEOLOGICAL FACTORS

IN HIS *History and Human Relations* (page 88f), Professor Herbert Butterfield expresses the view that 'whatever validity there may be in some of the Marxian principles, we may say that such principles would be better for anybody than for an actual Marxist, most useful of all, perhaps (or at any rate, least harmful), for a secure Christian, proof against the charm of materialism in itself, yet anxious to keep in touch with the hard earth.' I think we might take hardly to the assertion, by a Marxist or anyone else, that whatever truth there might be in Christianity, it would be better (or least harmful) for anyone rather than a convinced Christian! We must leave aside the questions whether what William Temple called the most materialistic of all religions should seek to remain proof against the charm of materialism in itself, whether, even if he wants to, a Christian can remain secure in this life, and whether, if he does remain proof, he will succeed in keeping in touch with hard earth—all of which are open to discussion. But it is a serious issue whether or not those who are committed to a way of life are most competent, or likely, to use wisely its insights. When we are dealing with fundamental views about life, either we judge one right and the other wrong, and find them mutually exclusive, or else the commerce between them involves radical modification on both sides. When, for example, a distinguished Marxist scientist conceded that the one

good thing which historic Christianity had contributed to civilization was the respect for the human personality, we could not let the remark pass. Surely such a view ought to involve for him a new attitude toward the faith which had created that respect?

It was another Marxist, Professor of Literature George Thomson, who made a point which Christians, of all people, will quickly appreciate. He noted how scholars and intellectuals were often quite willing to give weight to 'the insights of Marxism' (a typically academic phrase!)—in every subject but their own! The real test was whether they were prepared to see how they compelled radical re-thinking in their own special life's study. Christians are not the only ones open to the charge of thinking with 'the top of their minds', and leaving the faith of the heart unaffected.

It is a truism that, whatever we ought to be, our age is thoroughly materialistic. Perhaps, therefore a thorough-going materialism may have a great deal to enlighten us about the condition of those we would reach. Only when we have faced it to its limits shall we really know those limits. We know the answers to materialism as a counsel of despair, or a lusty denial of all man's spiritual life. It is another matter when materialism shows its power to become missionary and messianic, and to offer man a more adequate and earthly satisfaction for his spiritual values.

Our Lord met His first temptation with a quotation from the Old Testament. 'Man shall not live by bread *alone*'. A temptation which was meaningless apart from the stark, gnawing reality of bodily hunger, the very form of Christ's reply, not to mention the phrase in the Lord's Prayer, can all be read in support of the view that Christ Himself knew the vital importance of bread. Equally significant is the context of the quotation in Deuteronomy 8: 'And he [God] humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that He might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.' It is God's sustenance which is seen as the ground for learning the greater lesson of man's spiritual existence. The haste with which we escape into the second part of Christ's reply suggests that we have not shared with Him the soul-destroying intensity of the temptation which hunger and poverty present. 'People who are materially secure always speak about ideals; people who have nothing but their ideals talk about material conditions.' Too many of us are still not aware that when we think we are refuting Marxism, we are all too often lending it support. The struggle for bread is fundamental, and there is nothing unchristian in acknowledging the fact. And of all the groups of men who might claim kinship in the cultural leadership of the time, the ministry is in a unique position. Its economic level should help to keep us alive to the decisive importance for men of their material situation.

Marxism's strength lies in affirming man's material existence as basic; all his interpretations of existence are secondary—reflections of his material situation. The moment we hear that, we feel the urge to attack it, even if we hold the enlightened view that Marxism is the modern Assyria, 'rod of Mine anger', raised up to discipline us in our unfaithfulness. What is it raised up to scourge us for, if the truth to be maintained at all costs is 'not bread only'? Wherever we have failed, surely at least we can claim we have not neglected that. Is it being made clear beyond question that 'secure Christians' are making far sounder use of Marxist insights

than the Marxist himself? Is it ever likely to be so long as we hold the anti-Christian, Gnostic view that materialism is a grubbing, sordid insult to man? Evangelicals need to balance their message of Redemption with a far richer understanding of the Doctrine of Creation.

Whatever far-reaching results this vital discussion will have on our message, there are matters of immediate concern, in view of the 'World Call'. It is not a new idea to recognize how feudal, or legal, or 'liberal' ways of life have been reflected in the changing forms of Christian thought, or how economic status has affected religious groupings. When we seek to reawaken our people to their Free Church heritage, we often proudly point to its political identification with the Liberal Party, or the links between the less autocratic Primitive Methodists and the beginnings of the Labour Movement. Cromwell's men fought under religious watch-words, but underlying the strength of his movement was the struggle against royal privilege and feudal restraint on the growing power of the farmer and merchant-commoner, whose wealth was fast becoming the source of the nation's real economic strength. Cromwell, their champion, showed himself ruthless with those of his own followers who carried their religious and libertarian principles 'too far'. Berdyaev has shown in *The Origins of Russian Communism* how the Czarist censorship was so rigid that the liberal and reforming groups of the nineteenth century could only carry on discussion under guise of philosophical and theological inquiry. Part of the reason why our own attempts to regain loyalty simply by reference to our heritage fail may be because the Hammonds, the Coles, and others have shown the creative, more decisive, material factors behind the 'spiritual' issue. Few people need convincing that the 'spiritual issue' is more alive today than ever; that of itself does not generate revival. Many find the crux of the issue on an entirely different level.

In 1949, Dr C. H. Dodd addressed a striking letter to the World Council of Churches' Commission on the Church. In the *Ecumenical Review* for July 1951, two important comments appeared, one by an American Methodist, Dr Elmer T. Clark, the other by a well-known English Congregationalist, Rev Daniel T. Jenkins, on 'non-theological factors in our religious disunity'. The latter raises important questions about 'Why the people's Churches of Protestantism find it so hard to retain many of the brightest and best of their children, and what it is in the older Churches that appeals to them', and why conversely those older Churches depend as largely as they do on 'the people's Churches' for recruits to their own ministry. He suggests in passing that this may not be so distressing as we think; it may lead in fact to a deepened mutual understanding. Dr Clark's article is too long to be summarized here, and too important to be missed. He makes it clear, amongst many other things, how even where theological issues are slight, race, temperament, and especially economic position, are most potent factors in religious disunity. Since the Methodist Union, for example, in 1939, there are now more separate Methodist bodies in the U.S. than were in existence before the unification. Race-antagonisms have not figured in schism as much as we have thought; often, the coloured people have wished for, and maintained, the separation themselves. Wesley is quoted as having warned his followers that the very virtues he preached would result in prosperity, which would in turn destroy his revival. Though they might be horrified to think it, economic and social factors are strongly influential in the formation of the hundred-and-one peculiar sects which are concerned only

with 'the pure Gospel'. *Evangelism in France* suggests that the only people who make some moderate success in reaching the working-class are the 'Pentecostals', and before long their converts have ceased to be working-class! The 'challenge of Communism' has tended to harden the core of conservatism which exists even in Churches which have not overlooked 'the social Gospel'. But even more striking is the fact that that social Gospel is preached almost exclusively by and to those who need it least. 'Millions of the disinherited poor, grouped in the numerous small sects, will have none of it, and they point to its prevalence in other Churches as certain proof of the latter's apostasy.' An equally important point to note is that behind the Iron Curtain those groups which we have classed as 'other-worldly' have proved themselves least yielding to the pressures of totalitarianism.

All this raises tremendously important questions for our immediate concern. We dare not evade Our Lord's rebuke against those who failed to discern the signs of the times. Niebuhr has forced us to recognize that even when we criticize or judge our age in Christ's Name, we stand within it, inevitably influenced by the interests of our own social status and grouping, and it is hard to keep our judgments entirely uncompromised. For some, that awareness is so strong that it inhibits their discernment and power to witness against any evils committed by the 'other side'. For some priests and pastors in France, it is almost an axiom that 'the proletariat did not sin in Adam'. Much harder, for most of us, is to understand how our liberal democracy (alias 'imperialism') still fails to meet the needs of the under-privileged and dispossessed. Deeper still is the question: 'What is our Gospel?' Faced with the 'challenge of materialism', where even non-Communist States are taking over more and more of the social expression; faced with evidence that emphasis on the 'social Gospel' tends to weaken our 'single eye' in resisting the inroads of totalitarianism, and still more with evidence that even where it is preached, those who 'need it' regard the offer as proof of our apostasy; and knowing that ultimately we too have sympathy with those who say 'not bread only, but God's Word'—What is our Gospel? (Not just in passing, this question has been faced radically and afresh in Ellul's *Presence of the Kingdom*, S.C.M.). If we still cannot accept the 'other-worldly', exclusive individualism of the sects, yet find ourselves uninspired, unconvinced any longer by the dull clichés of the 'social Gospel', and if we *know* that our 'unity in Christ' binds men even across class-struggle and Iron Curtain, what must be its social expression? Here comes our renewed awareness of the Church, Christ's Body, but surely no longer to be seen in its very divisions and organization as something which lends support to the Marxist class-view? If the Church is being realized afresh as itself part of the Gospel to be preached, its material form must reveal that Gospel as its own creative spirit, and, as Christ's Body, like Him Incarnate, it must involve an identification with men in their whole need, which today we have yet barely begun. We have already had sufficient experience, in our present and past evangelistic witness to tell ourselves, what is worth heeding, that at the moment men and women are simply not able to hear what we are saying—not even when we speak about a 'warmed heart'. An individual with a message can always secure a hearing; men will agree, almost too readily, that 'Christianity is the solution of all our problems', and that's that. The Church, even when they know it to contain godly, sincere if bewildered folk, they do not dream of entering.

We shall not doubt our task 'to offer Christ to the people'. And we believe that

Methodism has a real fellowship. Yet most of our larger Churches, with their inevitable tendency to an ordered worship, something of culture in their ministry, and as Wesley saw, a certain prosperity amongst its members, are mainly middle-class. Were we as wise as we thought in some of our steps to consolidate Methodist Union? Was it merely stodgy adherence to tradition which made folk refuse to unite with the Wesleyans a little way down the road? Has this not widened the gap in understanding, let alone reaching, the masses? We have a truly wonderful fellowship, and it is precisely that which keeps many people, who are not opposed or unchristian, outside. They live in a world where the material standards are so utterly different from our own, where some of the prosperity-creating virtues preached by Wesley are no longer immediately realizable, not to mention what liberals mean by individual freedom. Till we have learnt how to enter sympathetically into their world, we shall never even know what is meant by, or how strong is, 'the challenge of materialism'. May it not be our greatest danger that it is all too easy to be 'secure Christians'?

T. J. FOINETTE

Notes and Discussions

SPIRITUAL HEALING¹

MENTAL, spiritual, and faith healing are three branches from one root. The first stresses the psychological and the second the religious aspect of the matter, whilst the third refers to a condition common to all, the receptiveness of the patient. From the psychological angle the differences are less important than the similarity. The modern interest in the subject is betokened by the five books mentioned below, all of which deal with the question, three of them exclusively with it. Methodists will turn to Mrs Salmon's book first, no doubt. Her sincerity is obvious and her story amazing. There are cases here which cannot be called faith healing, unless we accept the faith of the mother, shall we say, as agent in the healing of a baby. Yet there is abundant New Testament evidence for vicarious faith. All the cases Mrs Salmon mentions have occurred since 1941, and the cumulative mass of evidence is most impressive. Mrs Salmon says frankly that she is not skilled in diagnosis, pathology, or anatomy, and that in most cases mentioned here the diagnosis was given by the patients, as purporting to have been from their medical advisers, not from the doctors themselves. Dr Beard's books, however, are the work of an American medical woman, and though she gives us a more general treatment of the subject than does Mrs Salmon, she is equally sure of the reality of spiritual healing. That the sales of Mrs Salmon's book exceed 25,000 copies is a clear indication of the interest aroused by the subject today. As may be expected, the records are, in the main, those of the cases successfully treated. While Mrs Salmon has a chapter on 'disappointments', in most cases it was the patient's own folly which caused the disappointment.

The issues raised are many and serious. Anyone reading these books might well ask whether we may not look for the cure of all sickness by spiritual means. There is a frank admission in the New Testament that sometimes Christ could do no mighty works because of unbelief. (Some contend that the translation of the Greek word which is rendered 'healed', could be 'treated'. That is a point for New Testament scholars to settle.) In the Acts of the Apostles the records of healing are exceptional rather than general. There must have been many good Christian women like Dorcas, but she alone is recorded as having been brought back from death, and the case of Eutyches is equally exceptional. The apostles regarded preaching rather than healing as their main work. Paul made no attempt to copy the Lord's healing work, and one can hardly think that he initiated the use of his handkerchiefs and aprons as healing agencies or approved of such crude magic. The saints are credited with many healing miracles, but not healing ministries.

A modern intelligent Christian must view the situation with some perplexity. He cannot deny that Jesus healed, yet even so it was not for this purpose that He came to earth. Moreover, there is always this underlying fear, that healing ministries may attract from the physical rather than the spiritual side. Christian

¹ *He Heals Today*, by Elsie H. Salmon; *Everyman's Goal*, by Rebecca Beard; *Everyman's Search*, by Rebecca Beard; *Born That Way*, by E. R. Carlson; (8s. 6d. each); *This Is The Life*, by Starr Daily (12s. 6d.), (Arthur James, Evesham).

Science has its spiritual side and serves as a Church, but it is known because of its healing claims and if these were abandoned, it is improbable that the movement would last. The vast majority of those who become Christian Scientists are first attracted by the hope of healing and if this hope is fulfilled, they remain—if not, they fall away again. It would be a disaster if the Church as a whole attracted people similarly. In other words the healing work of the Church must always be subordinate to its spiritual work.

On the other hand, that healing work, if controlled and protected from methods that are both wholesale and unwholesome, ought to be a regular part of the ministry of the Church. But the attitude of the Church has long been dubious in the extreme. To many people a book like Mrs Salmon's is actually unwelcome. Their attitude is 'Lord! I don't believe, help my unbelief!' The time has come when the Church must face the issue. The report of the Spiritual Healing Committee to the Methodist Conference is a short and sober document, clearly stating the case and calling for the restoration of Christian healing as an integral element in the gospel the Church always preaches. This is really the important point, not healing missions, which in some cases have been no more than spiritual 'stunts'. The issue surely is that spiritual healing should be sought for the glory of God and in fulfilment of the will of the Master, not as a means of making use of God for personal benefit. If the Church is to bless spiritual healing, it must also take control of the methods used therein.

What general conclusions may we draw from all this? First, that health is the will of God. Wild animals suffer little illness. Many die as the prey of enemies, yet the butcher of the wild is usually quick and less cruel than are men's methods of marketing, travelling, and slaughter. Animals that escape predatory fate have usually but one illness, and death comes quickly. As W. H. Hudson says of the death of a bird: 'So easy and swift is the passage from life to death in wild nature. . . . But he was never miserable.'

Next, let us admit that body, soul, and spirit are a trinity in unity. The bifurcation of Nature into matter and mind is as gross an error as human thought ever made. We are not made of mind and body. We are mind-bodies. When one recollects the enormous influence of mind on body, the wonder is that spiritual healing is not much more prevalent than it is. It might be, if we used it rightly. But, right through the story, the same two mistakes have cropped up. One is that spiritual healing cannot work together with any other healing agency. The other is that all manner of disease is equally amenable to spiritual methods. The former error forgets that, while any surgeon can cut the flesh, only God can make it heal again. There is, then, not the slightest reason why spiritual healing should exclude medical healing or, for that matter, why medical healing should refuse to acknowledge spiritual healing. The second error overlooks the fact that what is caused by spiritual maladjustment is peculiarly fitted for treatment by spiritual means. A Christian believes that 'In Him we live and move and have our being'. If so, to be wrongly adjusted toward God is more serious than to be wrongly adjusted to our environment. We should not expect that any and every illness needs treatment from the spiritual side only, nor that medical and surgical help render spiritual aid needless. At present the physician, the psychologist, and the minister are apt to do their work independently of each other. There is an increasing number of psychologists who are also medically trained, and can

co-operate with their purely medical colleagues all the better for this. The same may, one hopes, become possible for ministers of religion in certain cases, and so lead to a new partnership where physician, psychologist, and minister may unite their powers in a unity of healing not known today.

E. S. WATERHOUSE

GOD ABSENT AND PRESENT

THE transcendence and immanence of God—these are not to be dismissed as points in a theological debate; rather do they stand for the poles between which our Western culture oscillates, unable to come to rest in either. For Rationalism God was transcendent, whether as the First Cause who set the world-machine in motion or as the Judge; for Romanticism God was immanent, the Spirit animating the world and active in the mind of man. The theory of biological evolution suggested to many a God so immanent that He could be thought of as learning by experience; in the theology of Karl Barth, at least in its earliest phase, God became so transcendent that He touched the world only momentarily, as a tangent impinges on a circle.

But perhaps we should do better still to translate these attributes of God into the corresponding experiences, and to speak of how God is sometimes apprehended by us as absent and sometimes again as present. 'O that I knew where I might find Him!' is the cry of one for whom God is absent and who wishes that He were present. 'Thou art come unto me to bring my sin to remembrance!' is the complaint of one for whom God is present and who wishes He were absent. Psalmist and prophet, saint and mystic, have their hours when the divine Presence is almost palpably near; then they enter into 'the dark night of the soul' and doubt whether He exists at all.

If we develop this theme, we may say in the first place that God is both absent and present in our experience of *nature*. For by nature we mean two distinct things. In the first place, we mean by it a system of uniformities on which we can rely to such an extent that, basing on present knowledge, we can predict when an eclipse of the sun will take place and fit out an expedition months ahead to go and observe it. As such, it seems at times a prison-house for our freedom. Is there room for prayer in such a world? Is there room for God? The astronomer sweeps the heavens and does not find Him, the physicist does not detect Him by his balance. From nature thus understood God is absent.

But we also mean by nature a whole world of radiance and beauty into which we enter when we will. We may say with Wordsworth that nature is

*The anchor of our purest thoughts, the nurse,
The guide, the guardian of our heart, and soul
Of all our moral being.*

Nature in this sense is not alien to our life; she brings us vigour of body and mind, release from care, and eager hope. She can become for us a sanctuary of the divine

Presence, so that once again, as for Moses, the wayside bush flames with God's glory and we draw near in wonder. This is the nature in which God is present, and the nature from which He is absent is only a partial view of this, an abstraction we have made in our own interests.

Secondly, we may say that God is both absent and present in *history*. What do we understand by history? From one point of view it is an attempted reconstruction of the past, based on two things: what happens to have been preserved in some way from that past, and the historian's personal judgement as to what is important in it and therefore worth narrating. As we read his account, we are conscious only of human forces at work: at no point does a supernatural factor enter in. Even if it is the history of Israel that is being written, while the idea of God may be mentioned as something that affected men's actions, God Himself does not appear as one of the actors in the drama. From history in this sense, even when written by Christian men, God is absent.

But there is another kind of history, the history that belongs to the present, and our relation to this is not that of an observer, but that of a participant. This is the history we help to make and suffer, and it is a sphere of opportunity and responsibility. In it God meets us in the imperative of duty and the impulse of hope. The future is to be decided and we are to decide it in co-operation with Him. At every moment of this history we are in His Presence; it is the place of divine challenge and human response, of human folly and divine redemption. In history so understood God is present, and this is the true sense of history. The revolt of the American colonies is an episode in the past for us; for Washington it was an hour of grave decision and responsibility in which he met with God.

Thirdly, we may say that God is both absent and present in our *personal life*. Whether He is experienced as far away or near at hand does not arise from any change on His part; it is determined by our response to His unchanging attitude of love. When we reject that love, whether by absorption in the passing moment or by deliberate preference of something base, God is far; while we are so out of relation to Him, we seek Him in vain. When, on the other hand, we turn from our waywardness and are willing for His discipline of love, He is near to us. God is absent to our betrayal and present to our fidelity. He is absent for the prodigal while he is content in the far country, present the moment he turns in thought to his father's house.

Or we may follow the language of the rabbis and say that God is absent from the world in so far as men refuse Him admission and present when they open their hearts to allow Him entrance. They said that, before Abraham, God was King only in heaven; but that when Abraham called Him 'Lord' and offered himself as His servant, God became King also on the earth. So God is absent so long as no man cares deeply for his fellows and each is shut in upon his own needs and desires; He is present where man's sympathy with his fellow man provides an opening for His love. 'If we love one another, God abideth in us.' He is absent in our pride, present in our self-forgetting.

So far we have spoken of God as sometimes absent and sometimes present. But we need to apprehend Him as both at once. There is a point in history at which, when it is renewed in our own experience, we see how God is most present when He seems most absent. It is in the Cross and Resurrection. Calvary is the abandonment to men's ill-will and malice, to prejudice and cowardice, of God's truest

servant, one who was more than servant, who was Son. The mocking cries of the bystanders, the thick darkness, and the cry of bitter anguish—are not these evidence of the absence of God? Yet it is the Cross that reveals to us more clearly than anything else the presence of God, His suffering in that human suffering, His offer of love in that unreserved self-giving.

The Cross, once we have apprehended it so, makes it possible for us henceforth to face the absence of God in the world and our own lives and to find Him present there. Pain, loss, and tragedy are not the evidence that He has forsaken us; they are the points in our experience at which He is most active, for He shares these things with us. The moments in which we lose our hold upon Him are just those at which His hold upon us is most certain; even when He is far by reason of our sin He is near with His forgiveness. If He is absent from the wind, the earthquake, and the fire that lay waste the earth, He is present in the still, small voice that will be mightier than they in the end.

E. L. ALLEN

D. H. LAWRENCE—SOME AFTER-THOUGHTS¹

A STRANGE subject for a Christian minister, many would say; but there are certain personal reasons why I have felt attracted by that tormented genius. Now that Richard Aldington has written what will probably turn out to be *the* final life (*Portrait of a Genius . . . But*) I feel that the time has come to set down a few of my own personal impressions for what they may be worth.

Although I cannot claim to have known him personally, D. H. Lawrence attracted me in the first place because of certain coincidences. To begin with, we were born within a few weeks of each other. Then, after the ordinary elementary schooling, we both started out in life as pupil-teachers under the old system; going on to college in due course—he to Nottingham and I to Cambridge—with the teaching-profession in view. Many years later, it happened that I was stationed at Eastwood, his old home, where I came to know some old friends of his who told me of his boyhood and youth. It seems there was from the first something of the Puritan, the ascetic in him, the kind of man who in an earlier age might easily have become a monk. Like many others in the religious world I was puzzled at such flagrant contradictions—Lawrence the writer appeared to be a most unlikely subject for serious study. Indeed, I well remember buying one of his earliest books, one day in Nottingham; I read it carefully and then deliberately threw it on the fire. A foolish thing to do, you may say; the sort of thing that only a grim, narrow-minded Puritan would do; but at any rate I had the courage of my convictions—to me it seemed a bad book and that was that! With the passing of the years, one gains a little more maturity: things are not simply dazzling white or inky black.

This cool objective account of Lawrence by Richard Aldington is a real help toward understanding and sympathy; something midway between uncritical hero-worship (of which there has been more than enough) and hasty condemnation in the name of religion. He was neither a sex-ridden degenerate nor a saviour of society. To my mind Byron's phrase about 'that self-torturing sophist, wild

¹ This article was written two years ago, therefore it takes no account of more recent writing on the subject.

Rousseau' comes rather near the mark; always remembering that we are dealing with genius, and genius appears to be a law unto itself. Lawrence was certainly a rebel, if ever there was one, turning savagely upon society and upon himself. The friend who lived with him and helped him in New Mexico wrote: 'He is impossible to understand . . . has a hard time with himself.' For all his fierce struggles he could never win peace, any real wholeness of thought and life. Since his untimely death in 1930 there has been a mass of writing about him by perverid admirers, disillusioned friends and cool critics. Much remains mysterious, but we do know that bodily disease took ever firmer hold upon him, impulses of blind rage and hatred also; pity and laughter forsook him till at last he seemed to be like one demon-driven. Long before the end, he had written: 'I am a failure as a man in a world of men.' It was indeed a final tragedy, a spiritual disaster.

As a writer of genius, D. H. Lawrence was probably unique in his generation. He had a marvellous gift of kinship with Nature, with flowers and birds and animals, a wonderfully sensitive touch in describing familiar scenes as well as remote foreign places. He did not merely portray a scene or incident in beautiful vivid language—but the thing itself, its inner life seems to be unfolding itself: it is not something coming from a mind outside. I suppose that may be called the true magic of style. And, as one writer has put it: 'A flame of agonized sincerity burns through the style.' Lawrence was no doubt greatly influenced by Ruskin, but the latter, for all his gorgeous language, never attains that sheer intensity. They were certainly akin in temperament, at any rate as regards that deep obscure conflict between the Puritan and artist sides of their nature. Perhaps that is one of the great permanent antinomies of life. Hermann Melville also, in *Moby Dick*, seems to have a clear affinity with Lawrence—the symbolism of the white whale may stand for the search for a new wholeness of life, a secret that lies beyond cerebral activity, mere intellect.

It is plain that Lawrence was a man with a mission, a passionate protest against our ordinary life; but the question as to what that mission really was is not easy to answer. It would be easy enough to adopt a Pharisaical attitude and dismiss him as an evil influence: That is the kind of artificial simplification that appeals to many religious people, especially when they forget St Paul's advice: 'Eager to believe the best'. Without doubt, Lawrence was outrageous in some of his writings, lacking decent reticence—which he mistook for hypocrisy. But, as I have said, some of his early friends in Eastwood declare that he was always in some ways an ascetic. His wild savage protest was against an industrial civilization 'gone dead and done for' as he put it. In 1914 he felt the mechanized slaughter of the war as an outrage and horror; to him it meant the break-up of an age. He persuaded himself that so-called Christian morality was really only a thin veneer over the surface of a society that had 'gone dead', a machine-made age that was fast breaking down.

As for the remedy, his mission was to seek a new order of being, a new kind of creative life—nothing less than that! He was to be the leader of a band of followers and disciples. They would found a colony somewhere, in New Mexico—anywhere away from Europe—and that was to be the nucleus of a new order of life. In fairness to Lawrence, one must admit that he really did believe his purpose was morally good: he wanted to rediscover religion and morality as the basis of the new order. Strange that as a writer he should deliberately outrage the decencies of life and literature—but it was something far more than another example of 'Art for

Art's sake'. 'Otherworldliness' was the quest; but, as one critic says, it was to be sought, not in the *heights*, but in the *depths*. Other prophets would have us emulate the saints and climb the steep ascent of heaven; he would exhort us, not to 'follow in their train', but to 'scramble back again' and explore the depths. Painful and even blasphemous as this may sound to many ears, it is the cry of a man who really did feel he was called to be a saviour of society. Hence his preoccupation with the dark mystery of sex and the secret of the early gods of the Mexican Indians and other forgotten civilizations. Year after year he spent for the most part moving swiftly and bitterly about the world: Italy, Sardinia, Mexico, Australia. He was indeed 'hard on himself' and on his disciples and admirers, for he quarrelled with them all in turn—his devouring egotism would not let him admit that he was ever wrong. His impulse was right and final! At times his wild rages and uncontrollable fury drove him over the edge of sanity. A tormented genius, if ever there was one, he reminds me of a character in one of Meredith's novels: the music of whose life was likened to that of a great organ played upon at dead of night by foul demons.

The pity of it! No wonder Aldington calls his book *Portrait of a Genius* . . . *BUT*; that 'but' may be a tremendous word. It is rather striking that very little is said about religion, and that little quite casually. Can it be that here, as in so many cases, the clue to the mystery is so simple and obvious that perhaps only a very clever man could miss it? To myself I put the matter thus. If only D. H. Lawrence, whose passionate devotion to his mother comes out so plainly in his early writings, had caught that mother's religion! (I happen to know that she was a devoted member of the Congregational Church at Eastwood.) If only his haughty spirit had been willing to bow in humble faith to the Divine over-ruling: to confess, with the young Wordsworth, 'I must be, else sinning greatly, a dedicated spirit' (there are many different types of 'conversion')—that surely would have made all the difference. One can well imagine instead of jangled discords, a final harmony; instead of 'the fierce dispute, Betwixt hell-torment and impassioned clay', and that demonic 'black self' that cried, 'This love, so full of hate, has hurt us so'—the single eye, the undivided heart. One thing is fairly certain: D. H. Lawrence would have been of the heroic breed, a brilliant knight of the Cross, a notable pioneer for the Kingdom of Heaven.

CHARLES GIMBLETT

Recent Literature

Old Testament Apocalyptic, by Stanley B. Frost. (The Epworth Press, 22s. 6d.) The four hundred years whose centre is the Birth of the Lord Jesus produced among the Jews the unique Apocalyptic literature, tensely popular in religious circles, of which Daniel and Revelation are the two great biblical examples. In his Fernley-Hartley Lecture Dr Frost has given us a study of the origins and growth of this strange type of writing, with its complicated symbolisms and its often bizarre visions. The author has placed all technical discussions in the foot-notes, with the book-references. While this provides the scholar with all he demands it makes the book easy for others to understand. Dr Frost has written a thoroughly scholarly and an eminently readable book. He begins with Psalm 74 and shows that all the elements of apocalyptic are to be found in it: historical setting, appeal to history, nationalism, anonymity and pseudonymity, mythology and symbolism. This approach is most illuminating. If the reader remembers these elements and looks out for them as he reads the rest of the book, he will read with great profit.

Eschatology is characterized by the expectation of a future event which is the effective End. Myth is the precursor of philosophy—i.e., it accounts for the origin and purpose of things, stories of the activities of the gods (for the Hebrews, 'of God') in primeval times. Apocalyptic, fusing the two, expresses its expectation of the End in mythological terms, sometimes anonymously and sometimes in the name of some great figure of antiquity. In sections two and three, Dr Frost traces the development of all this in the apocalyptists whose work is found embedded in Ezekiel, Joel, Isaiah, and Zechariah, in Daniel, and in the extra-biblical Enoch. The conclusion of the book is an admirable résumé, followed by an estimate of the distinctive contribution of apocalyptic to Christian thought. In this world there is righteousness; truth is eternal; and he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved. Whether the Kingdom of God comes in the far future in a Golden Age, or is near now in awful doom because of man's insanity, it *will* come.

NORMAN H. SNAITH

The Gospel According to St. Mark.—The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by Vincent Taylor. (Macmillan, 50s. 0d.)

It is more than fifty years since Macmillan published Swete's *Commentary on St Mark*, and in that time great changes have taken place in the investigation of Gospel origins and interpretation. New light has come from linguistic and textual discoveries and researches, from the recognition, hardly admitted half a century ago, of the Semitic background of the Gospel and from the work of Dibelius, Bussmann, and the many other so-called Form Critics. Dr Vincent Taylor has studied the great mass of material, the books, the articles in theological journals, published in America and on the Continent as well as in this country; and to all his reading of the work of others he has brought that sound critical judgement, which has helped to give him his deservedly high reputation as a New Testament scholar. This commentary is planned upon a generous scale, as such a book should be, even today. The Introduction of 149 pages sets out clearly and concisely the most important questions which a study of this Gospel provokes—linguistic, historical, theological. In discussing the history of the Gospel in modern research, its sources, its structure, its historical value, Dr Taylor shows himself indebted to the work of the Form Critics, but he is never drawn into the tangled bypaths in which they so often stray. He is convinced that this first Gospel is not correctly described in Justin's phrase as 'The Memoirs of Peter.' While it does contain reminiscences of Peter's teaching, the author has drawn also on oral and written tradition current in the Church. There are gaps in the outline, as Mark writes it; there are elements, apocalyptic, miraculous, and the like, with

which Dr Taylor deals frankly; but he has no doubt that this Gospel is a first-class authority for our knowledge of the life and teaching of Jesus. In the commentary itself, which runs to more than 450 pages, the method is to print the Greek text at the top of the page, to divide the material into paragraphs, and after a short introductory note to comment upon each in detail, adding Detached Notes where necessary—e.g., on the meaning of the title Son of Man and the interpretation of the Ransom Saying (10₄₈). Following the commentary there are longer Additional Notes, e.g., on the compilation of the Apocalyptic Discourse in Chapter 13 and on the Date of the Last Supper. (In this Dr Taylor remains unconvinced by the arguments of Jeremias and others, and concludes that the Last Supper and the Crucifixion probably preceded the Passover). Dr Taylor's conclusions are always the result of carefully built up arguments. He does not avoid the difficult questions, nor does he attempt to answer them by ingenious guesses, but always by patient research. His commentary has been eagerly awaited, and it does not disappoint the high expectations which preceded its appearance. The cost unfortunately is very high, but he who buys it will find himself turning to it again and again, and will be most grateful to the author for so carefully weighing the evidence, and for so clearly stating his conclusions, even when the reader does not agree with some of them. This commentary is an example of exact scholarship, balanced judgement, and last, but by no means least, spiritual insight.

F. B. CLOGG

The Fourth Gospel Rearranged, by Thomas Cottam. (The Epworth Press, 10s. 6d.)

In this book the author renews the attempt to rearrange the Fourth Gospel in such a way as to justify the claim made by Archbishop Temple that the Fourth Gospel gives us a 'clear and full chronology' of the life of Jesus. In common with most New Testament scholars, Mr Cottam feels that this claim cannot be justified by the text of the Gospel as it lies before us in our Bibles. It is almost impossible to believe, for example, that the Cleansing of the Temple took place at the beginning of our Lord's ministry, the reference to 'the temple of his body' being peculiarly difficult then. Nor, as Mr Cottam says, is it credible that Jesus should have been unrecognized by the crowds at the pool of Bethesda after the cleansing of the Temple had made Him a notorious figure. In Mr Cottam's rearrangement 2-15a is followed by 51-57, and 215b-21 follows 811 (or 1215, if 753-811 is not accepted as part of the original text). This drastic rearrangement—and it is only one of many—seems arbitrary, unless the reminiscences of the beloved disciple were left on a series of loose sheets and were put together after his death as best his friends could (cf. 2151-5). There has been a very intelligible reaction against such 'rearrangements' in recent years, but many of them seem to be justified by the real and substantial incoherencies which the present text presents. Under the 'Theory of the dislocations' Mr Cottam gives us a rational explanation of the reason why there are so many. The present reviewer would agree with a good many of this writer's transpositions, but prefers Moffatt's rearrangement of Chapters 13-17, and (with H. T. Andrews) would put 315-21 and 321-2 into the prologue after 115.

J. A. FINDLAY

Commentary on Romans, by Anders Nygren. (S.C.M., 30s. 0d.)

Here is a lucid and thorough exposition of Paul's greatest Epistle, 'the Clearest Gospel of all'. It is true that the findings of the linguistic, textual, and critical problems in the major commentaries on Romans, especially those of Sanday and Headlam and C. H. Dodd, are here largely presupposed, but for the *thought* of the Epistle this work provides admirably clear guidance, even though allowance has to be made for the strictly Lutheran standpoint. The plan of the book is simple, and there is an excellent outline of Contents. The *differentia* of Romans from the rest of the Pauline writings is clearly

shown. Paul is here confronting his own life problem, not the exigent needs of a special congregation. The crux of Romans lies in the contrast between Adam and Christ (Chapter 5) and the two aeons that they respectively inaugurate. In Christ and his Resurrection the Christian, whether Jew or Gentile, has passed into a new order of life. The watchword of the Epistle rings out in the citation from Habakkuk, which the author insists must be rendered: 'he who through faith is righteous shall live'. 'The righteous man' and 'faith' form one indissoluble concept. Dr Nygren's first four chapters (Part I) unfold the nature of this righteousness through faith, and the second four (Part II) the justified life which follows therefrom—freedom from Wrath, Sin, the Law, and Death. Under the difficult theme of Chapters 9-11 (Part III) Dr Nygren insists that Paul's discussion of Election is in no sense a parenthesis or digression, but germane to his whole argument. In Part IV we have a fine discussion of the Pauline ethic, the proof that the phrases 'in Christ' and 'in love' are virtually equivalent being specially noteworthy. We must omit the mention of particular texts for lack of space. Paul's indebtedness to Wisdom 13-14 in his indictment of pagan wickedness (Chapter 1) might have been made explicit. Not all will feel satisfied with the interpretation of the crucial term *hilasterion* as 'mercy-seat'. There are important discussions of such terms and phrases as 'the love of God' (*subjective genitive*), 'glory', 'law', 'righteousness', 'the likeness of sinful flesh', and the triple 'God gave them up' in 11-12. The 'Wrath of God' is depicted as a personal and active 'dynamic', not an inevitable outworking of the moral law of the universe. The discussion of the possibility of 'natural theology' is especially illuminating and judicial. Dr Nygren interprets 7-11 as descriptive of the apostle's *Christian* experience. While differences on particular points are inevitable, it will be generally agreed that in this volume there is a rich harvest for preacher and student. The translation from Swedish by Carl C. Raamussen is readable and clear, despite such Americanisms as 'gotten' and 'traveled'. An Index of subjects would have been useful. There are slight misprints on pp. 24, 291, and 338.

H. G. MEECHAM

Alterations of the Words of Jesus as Quoted in the Literature of the Second Century, by Leon W. Wright. (Harvard University Press, via Oxford Press, 20s. 0d.)

The first sentence of the author's 'Summary and Conclusion' runs: 'It would seem clear that, motivated by the demands of social exigency as well as of faith, Christian writers of the second century deliberately emended the canonical words of Jesus'. Like the title of the book, this might suggest that here there may be fundamental criticism of Christian orthodoxy, but in fact the discussion is almost purely factual and on small-scale issues. The author collects cases where early patristic quotations of the words of Jesus differ from the Gospel record, and carefully classifies them according to the apparent motive, if any, lying behind the deviations. The classification is according to prudential, contextual, harmonistic, stylistic, explanatory, ethical, and dogmatic motives. The theological and spiritual import of these 'alterations' is negligible until one passes from the Fathers of the Church into writers definitely branded as heretical by ancient tradition. This comfortingly bears out the Catholic position that the historic Church was divinely guided in the safeguarding of a definite Apostolic Faith, which itself clearly answers to the historic Christ. While the writer himself hints as much in the words 'With the exception of heterodox activity, dogmatic emendation is, in the main, consistently devoid of radical departures from canonical norms', this vital point is nowhere developed. The general reader will welcome a convenient collection of the so-called 'Agrapha', fuller than that in M. R. James's *Apocryphal New Testament*. It is a little curious that the author assumes that his readers can make their own way through citations in Latin and German but not in Greek. There is a somewhat excessive use of jargon.

JOHN LAWSON

New Testament Literature in the Light of modern Scholarship, by T. Henshaw. (Geo. Allen and Unwin, 25s. 0d.)

This book is intended to help students of religious knowledge in universities, teacher-training colleges, and sixth forms. It will appeal to many because the author does his best to find plausible solutions of disputed problems instead of leaving the reader to come to his own conclusions. Just because the book is so well written, however, this may be rather misleading. It covers up the cracks in modern reconstructions of New Testament literature, and these have been widened by the explosive force of several recent books. The critical study of the New Testament is entering a new phase in which 'accepted results' will be re-examined and some probably overthrown. This raises some difficult questions about the right way to teach 'critical introduction' in Religious Knowledge courses today. Meanwhile, for those who must 'get on with the syllabus,' Mr Henshaw's book will be a real help. Others, too, may well profit by this same and readable account of the critical orthodoxy at present current in British New Testament studies.

KENNETH GRAYSTON

The Paschal Mystery, by Louis Bouyer. (Geo. Allen & Unwin, 18s. 0d.)

In our fascinating generation the Catholic, whose life is traditionally liturgical, is taking to critical Bible study, while Protestant scholars increasingly use the word 'liturgy' as the key to Biblical interpretation. When these orbits intersect, their conjunction augurs new hope for the Church Universal. In this book, which has passed through two French editions before Sister Mary Benoit translated it in America, we are definitely within such a segment. How good to see the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Chicago to sentences like: 'The altar is primarily a table—a dining-room table'. In intent, the book might be called the Catholic counterpart to Aulen's *Christus Victor*, for it is a commentary on the drama of the Cross. But its lay-out is devotional. We follow step by step the ritual, lectionaries, and prayers of Holy Week from Maundy Thursday to Easter Day, and are shown that liturgy is indeed theological parable. Appendices and footnotes at the end of each of the nineteen chapters reveal the breadth of the author's scholarship, and show once more that in France, at any rate, today there are Catholic scholars with a thorough acquaintance with modern Protestant thought. In essence, the book answers the question: How do Christ's personal acts have a collective—Bouyer calls it 'catholic'—range? To him our recapitulation in our Second Adam means that whereas, after our first father's sin the primitive unity of the species in Adam underwent 'fragmentation' into individuals born after the flesh, now Christ reassembles and reunites us, *disiecta membra*, as we are, into His one Body, born of the Spirit. The writer's account of this process, like his recurrent stress on the demonic nature of evil, may seem to the erudite even naïve, but none can escape the force of its impressionist directness. The living situation of wartime France has been his teacher. He stimulates us to reflect again on the relation of God to evil. One sentence I still ponder: 'Divine wrath . . . is only grieved love'. As the publishers claim, the book 'provides inexhaustible material for the clergyman in search of new inspiration in his preaching'.

R. KISSACK

The Life of the Servant, by Henry Suso. Translated by James M. Clark. (James Clarke, 7s. 6d.)

This book was translated into English in 1865, but that volume has long been unobtainable, and this new translation is very welcome. Suso's book is one of the greatest and most poignant spiritual autobiographies ever written, and the present volume provides a reliable English version, for Prof. Clark has used the text of Bihlmeyer, who is the acknowledged authority on Suso. This mystic's book reveals the strivings of a sensitive, ardent soul who would—come what may—find the Kingdom. There may be some who may be revolted by the self-immolation of the seeker, but Suso, who was willing to endure all things for his Lord, at last found Him. But the fidelity and

love which fill the pages, more than counterbalance the violence of his sufferings. The translator and his publishers are both to be thanked for producing such a valuable document so attractively and so cheaply.

JOHN EARLE

Religious Dances in the Christian Church and in Popular Medicine, by Louis Backman. (Geo. Allen & Unwin, 35s. 0d.)

In this scholarly and interesting book Professor Louis Backman, the Professor of Pharmacology at the Royal University of Uppsala in Sweden, covers ground that we have never seen covered before and does so with a fine sense of historical insight and painstaking comprehensiveness. The various religious dances are described, their origin given and their relevance to the life of the Church indicated. Beginning with the religious dances amongst the Jews, the writer moves on to the dancing which characterized the early Christian celebrations, the dances that accompanied the dirges for the dead, the flagellant dancing, and so on. The most interesting part of the book is the account of the dancing epidemics. He thinks that the story of the Pied Piper of Hamelin had its origin in an epidemic disease caused through eating diseased cereal plants, such as the ergot which grows in wheat. Convulsive, jerky gestures were symptoms of the disease and could be allayed, it was thought, by 'dancing'. A musician in gay garments may have led a number of sick children to a hollow glade up in the mountains, dancing as they went, and they may have succumbed to the disease and perished. They were buried outside Hamelin at the foot of the Koppenberg about the end of the thirteenth century, and the occurrence may well have been the basis of the legend.

The contribution which the author makes to the subject of Choreomania in the last part of the book, is of major value and importance, and he is to be warmly congratulated on a fine piece of work which will prove, I think, to be the standard work of reference on a subject which he has made as fascinating as it is informative. The book is beautifully produced, printed and illustrated.

LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD

The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God, a Study in the Theology of John Calvin, by T. H. L. Parker. (Oliver & Boyd, 10s. 6d.)

As in his earlier book on Calvin's doctrine of preaching, Mr Parker again goes back to the sources and forces us to listen to Calvin *himself*. 'Anglican theologians get away with a lot by trading on the ignorance of Reformation theology that exists in this country' (p. 29). Even Dr Brunner 'is at fault in that he has committed precisely this error of interpreting the whole by a part, and this leads him to interpret the part wrongly in its turn' (p. 38). In the controversy about the place of natural theology in Calvin's teaching, Mr Parker would side with Karl and Peter Barth. For Calvin the Knowledge of the Creator is fundamentally knowledge *through the Word*, and this, in turn, can only be properly defined in the context of the Knowledge of the Redeemer. 'Concretely, the Word as the object of faith means that God reveals Himself, and therefore that we know Him by faith, in the promulgation of the Gospel in the Bible and in the preaching of the Church', and 'when we receive the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist' (p. 99). 'Our knowledge of God is real but not perfect, and by the grace of God it increases more and more. But it is the knowledge of faith and therefore different from that knowledge which we shall enjoy hereafter. Revelation is indirect . . . knowledge is always by way of the sacramental form of revelation' (p. 115). Mr Parker expounds Calvin's 'frankly didactic view of Scripture' (p. 46) without relying on the 'natural' authentication of the fundamentalists who 'prove the truth of the Bible to the neglect of discovering and preaching' it (p. 43). He has an open eye for the numerous parallels between Calvin and Luther without overlooking the (even more numerous!) points which 'Calvin does not bring out so strongly as Luther' (p. 91). He neither ignores nor overrates the differences in the various editions of the *Institutio*: 'The development of the *Institutio* does not portray an erring theologian's

return to orthodoxy, but the enrichment of a true presentation of the Faith by the influx of ancient and traditional forms of orthodoxy' (p. 62). Throughout the book the author establishes his initial claim: 'I have argued "Calvinishly"' (p. 3).

FRANZ HILDEBRANDT

The Christian Understanding of God, by Nels F. Ferré. (S.C.M., 18s. 0d.)

This is the fourth volume of Professor Ferré's comprehensive study of Philosophical Theology, but the first to be published in this country. The author believes that the task of philosophical theology is to 'unearth the philosophical implications of the faith and to develop its involvements'. The argument begins with the basic Christian belief in 'The Word made Flesh as Love', and proceeds to examine the nature of God as Being, Becoming, Personality, and Spirit. The second part is an exposition of the Work of God in Creation, Revelation, and Incarnation. This section is a peculiar mixture of provocative thinking and rather obvious comments on the Incarnation. In this attempt to bring together Philosophy and Biblical Theology, many valuable suggestions are made, especially in the discussion of Natural and Revealed Theology. The weakness of the book is in the treatment of the Incarnation and the Atonement. It is surely not enough to describe the sinlessness of Jesus as a 'mere Biblicism', nor to evidence more concern for what appears reasonable than for what our Gospels report as history. The question, 'How can the unique event of Incarnation be fitted into any system of philosophy?' requires a more thorough-going Christo-centric theology than Professor Ferré's to provide a satisfactory answer. WILLIAM STRAWSON

Social Ethics: Christian and Natural, by T. E. Jessop. (The Epworth Press, 6s. 6d.)

The Christian Church today, says Professor Jessop, is lamentably ineffective. One of the many reasons is that the Church has not manifested a proper concern for the social order. One of the remedies is to discover and teach the Christian doctrine of society. This year's Beckly Lecture sketches its outline. The first approach to the problem is theological. From the doctrine of God as Supreme Being, Professor Jessop deduces: (a) the sovereignty of God over societies as well as over individuals, (b) the necessity that the social order should be compatible with the will of God for men, and (c) the recognition that men do not exist wholly for the ends of any social group. The next, and more debatable, approach is ethical. An ethical doctrine of society must be founded on 'natural ethics', expanded and refined by Christian love. The doctrine must proceed from the thesis that the morality valid for an individual is not necessarily the morality valid for a group. An effective doctrine for society must be grounded in fact. Much of our contemporary confusion is due to the reluctance of both religious and secular reformers to accept the discipline of factual study. Professor Jessop finally tests out his argument on selected social problems, characteristically selecting the toughest—patriotism, pacifism, and the punishment of criminals. Even this brief and inadequate summary will show that Professor Jessop has packed a great deal into a small space. He has, moreover, done it without recourse to the solemn jargon of the sociologist. His swinging phrases—'this rash, brash, unhumble and uncharitable moral zeal'; 'the fluffy, floppy, floundering wish-wash that passes as speech today'; 'a football fan knows more about football than most Christians know about Christianity'—make it plain that he wants ordinary readers both to understand and to argue. He succeeds in both aims. An admirable little book for a study group.

EDWARD ROGERS

The Impact of Science upon Society, by Bertrand Russell. (Geo. Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.)

God at Work, in Science, Politics and Human Life, by James Parkes. (Putnam, 12s. 6d.)

Man, Creator or Destroyer, by George Malcolm Stratton. (Geo. Allen & Unwin, 16s. 0d.)

The Church in Community Action, by Harvey Seifert. (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, via The Epworth Press, \$2.75)

The pre-eminence of Mr Bertrand Russell is unquestioned, and his militant scepticism is well-known. On his eightieth birthday, Messrs Allen and Unwin published *The Impact of Science upon Society*, based on lectures originally given at Ruskin College, Oxford, and here, with delicious quips on every page, his convictions are set forth afresh in that easy yet disciplined English which makes the author so attractive to hear or read. It is impossible to summarize what is already a summary of the author's long reflections on his vast store of knowledge. We know what to expect: purpose is a scientifically useless concept; this world is neither God-controlled nor man-centred, yet it offers man the prospects of limitless power, with its attendant dangers of world-suicide unless man learns the way of reason. On this point, Russell remains optimistic; a world which has survived the faith of the Christian can, with science at hand, survive also the menace of the new dictators. Rationalism has its serious blind-spots; even so, preachers and others whom Russell's weightier books take out of their depth have now no excuse for claiming what is patently out-of-date, namely, that Science cannot create a culture or values, even moral value of its own.

It is a little disconcerting that Christians do not abide alone, in a monopoly of irrationalism: more subtly, a goodly number of them refuse to keep a closed mind, or to be unduly distressed by the advance of Science. They can even welcome it as part of God's creative activity and Self-manifestation. Dr James Parkes believes we can re-state the doctrine of the Trinity in the light of God's 'three modes of activity'. *God at work* traces those three modes in Judaism, Christianity, and the much-maligned Scientific Humanism, each essential to, and inseparable from, the others. Whether or not we accept Dr Parkes's re-statement of the Trinity as adequate, his most readable and well-informed book illustrates what rationalist critics often overlook, that the Church's most candid friends are often within her own ranks.

The Professor of Psychology in California University, scene since 1949 of a great struggle for intellectual freedom, is also both aware of the dangers confronting man, yet ultimately optimistic. This background lends even greater significance to *Man, Creator or Destroyer*. Man is not only responsive to his environment, but creative of it, and is not the greatest of all the arts the making of persons and the community of persons? *The Church in Community Action* is an extensive study of the ways a Church can be organized for social action. With our welfare State and our smaller local resources, the book has rather less relevance in England than in America. But chapters three and four might be 'prescribed reading' in pastoral psychology for any young minister taking his first church.

T. J. FOINETTE

The Treatment of the Young Delinquent, by J. Arthur Hoyles. (The Epworth Press, 18s. 6d.)

The dust cover describes this as a survey of the changes during the last hundred years in the community's reaction to juvenile delinquency. This is true up to a point only, for the survey stops short too early, and there are serious gaps. Perhaps this is because the book has been uncommonly long a-printing. The creditably long bibliography stops at 1948 with one dubious exception. Most of the references belong to the 1930's or earlier. It is largely a book of quotations, but it becomes more readable when the writer himself writes. But in a book of research, untested, unsupported opinion should not be allowed to pass as authoritative statements. Drink, for instance, admittedly accompanies crime, but most psychological authorities now regard it as a symptom rather than a basic cause. The cinema has already been acquitted of causing crime, yet here it is indicted once again without evidence. In the first of the three sections of the book, on 'Guilt', there is much over-simplification, especially of psychological

mechanisms. In the second, on 'Punishment', the reformatory, retributive, and deterrent theories are examined. The author is happier in the last section, on 'Redemption', for he is there on more familiar ground. The main value of the book is that it may serve the busy man as preliminary reading before he turns to the study of more recent literature.

JOHN WHEELER

Language in Thought and Action, by S. I. Hayakawa. (Geo. Allen & Unwin, 18s. 0d.) The author of this American book defines semantics as 'the study of human interaction through the mechanisms of linguistic communication. Consequent to the exchange of communications, co-operation sometimes results, and sometimes conflict'. He sees the importance of a right use of words, as a basis of conduct, not merely for such people as lawyers and poets, scientists and statesmen—but for everybody, from the baseball fan to the President. He urges that, if better human co-operation is to be achieved, ability to discern and use speech correctly is a notable means to that end. The first part of the book describes the various functions of language, and the second is occupied with the meaning of words—how men use them, and, in turn, how they can affect their reactions—e.g., the way in which 'Jew' may be applied ('He jewed me out of ten dollars'). The marked American setting and terminology of the book may lessen its value for English readers and would-be writers, but the principles are clearly stated and practical exercises accompany each chapter. The book is written with vivacity, abundant examples being given from all walks of life and literature. HAROLD S. DARBY

The Tree of Life, by Nathaniel Micklem. (Oxford Press, 7s. 6d.)

No Time for Cowards, by Phoebe Heskest. (Heinemann, 8s. 6d.)

Dr Nathaniel Micklem is a philosopher-poet who holds, with Newman, that we must make for truth with the whole man. It is perhaps significant that his mind is drawn to verse-forms which make a maximum demand on his technical skill and ingenuity—the sonnet, the Spenserian stanza. In poems of feeling—and it is in these that he most fully approves himself a poet—he uses the simpler metres which are more fitting for his purpose, but where thought is uppermost he employs the more elaborate forms. One surmises that this is a device to which he resorts instinctively, as though to tune and brace himself to the pitch of intellectual passion which the high themes he pursues demand. The scholar, the thinker, and the man of feeling combine in a rare partnership. The volume also includes some accomplished light verse, executed with grace and adroitness.

In Mrs Heskest sensibility goes hand in hand with courage and endurance. Hers is a nature that responds to beauty in its more austere aspects, the monochrome of moorlands and granite hills, the mirthless cries of lonely birds, the lingering winters and reluctant springs of the north country which, one gathers, is her home. It is out of these things that she makes her poetry, and out of the wisdom she has won from an experience of life in which sorrow has played a large part. In her own phrase, she has 'moulded pain into a cup that brims with hope again', and hers is poetry that tranquillizes and consoles.

W. S. HANDLEY JONES

Limpopo to Zambesi, by Clarence Thorpe. (Kingsgate Press, 3s. 6d.)

In spite of severe limitations of space, Mr Thorpe has used his materials well and has given us an interesting and vivid account of the work of Methodism in Southern Rhodesia since it began some sixty years ago. He describes the country and tells the story of the pioneer missionaries equally well. Owen Watkins, with his steady purpose, ready wit, and large vision, stands out as the chief of these. Among later leaders John White is pre-eminent. One could wish that there had been more space to describe his many-sided services to the District. On the surface the growth of the work looks almost haphazard, but a reader of Mr Thorpe's account of it ends the story, with the

conviction: 'This work is of God or it would have died long ago'. Southern Rhodesia is much 'in the news' today; here is Methodism's part in 'the news'.

HARRY BUCKLEY

Christian Vocation: Studies in Faith and Work, by W. R. Forrester. (Lutterworth Press, 12s. 6d.)

We needed another book on vocation, and Professor Forrester has supplied the need handsomely in the Cunningham Lectures of 1950. The book is not a dry, deductive treatise, laid out in sections and subsections, but a sequence of essays unified by their convergent illumination of a common theme, and pulsating under the urgency of our present plight and mood. The writer, a Professor of Christian Ethics and Practical Theology, has behind him the experience of a parish, of the private cure of souls and of the public exposition of the Word. His book is not only for the studious or curious, but also, and more valuably, for the working minister who wants suggestions and illustrations consciously tied to a biblical and experiential theology. Very striking is the exhibition of the range of the idea of vocation. For example, the Christian pacifist is asked not to flay the Church for apostasy, but to conceive himself as having a specific calling—the principle being that a calling, while it is a call to duty, cannot be generalized. Under the discussion of specific callings Professor Forrester observes that we have something to learn from the Romanist way of turning a possible conflict or schism into an enrichment by constituting fine 'eccentrics' into an Order. He naturally thinks of the Franciscans, and of the Third Order rather than of the Friars themselves. The doctrine of Providence is shown to be the theological ground of the idea of a divine call. In Paul, it is noted, predestination takes the place of the old notion of a covenant. The biblical material is duly referred to. There is repeated emphasis on the Reformers' protest that life under God can be perfected *per vocationem* as well as *in vocatione*, the dedicated way being defined not by the sphere but by the manner and purpose of one's major activities. A sketch is given of the Hebrew and Greek views of work, of Luther's and Calvin's teaching, and of Weber's and Tawney's theory of the historical link of Puritanism with capitalism. Finally, the aimlessness and listlessness of work in the West and the screeching exaltation of it in Russia are shown to be opposite symptoms that the industrialized society of today has lost the spiritual end of living. The secularity of 'careers' masters' and 'vocational psychologists' is given a dig with the question: 'Which of them would have sent Schweitzer to Lambarene?' A short book-list would have completed this instructive, suggestive, and moving book.

T. E. JESSOP

Marriage. The Art of Lasting Happiness, by David R. Mace. (Hodder & Stoughton 8s. 6d.)

Sex. Its Meaning and Purpose, by W. E. Sargent. (Hodder & Stoughton, 6s. 0d.)

Dr Mace has used some of his many articles on marriage problems as a basis for the first book. Of the many volumes recommended as suitable gifts for those contemplating marriage this is one of the best. There are no diagrams or physiological details, but the book sets forth Dr Mace's sound doctrine that marriage is an art to be learned. Those who wish to avoid matrimonial problems, as well as those who have become involved in them, will find this book useful. There is an appendix on Marriage Counselling Services, with addresses and details, also one on books for further reading.

The second book, one of Teach Yourself Series, is still another attempt to break the old prejudices about sex. While some of its eleven chapters offer little that is new, those on sublimation and on the meaning and purpose of marriage are good. The author's claim that Jesus would allow divorce and re-marriage will not find general agreement. The book is said to be suitable for 'any adolescent or adult', but few adolescents will be interested in some of the problems discussed, and few married people in others. The list of books for further reading does not give the names of the publishers.

HERBERT MILLS

From My New Shelf

BY C. RYDER SMITH

The Servant of the Lord and other Essays on the Old Testament, by H. H. Rowley (Lutterworth Press, 25s. 0d.). All these essays, except the first of two on 'The Servant of the Lord', have already appeared in learned periodicals, but it is a boon to have them collected. The subjects are: 'The Servant of the Lord', 'The Nature of Old Testament Prophecy', 'The Chronological Order of Ezra and Nehemiah', 'The Marriage of Ruth', 'The Interpretation of the Song of Songs', 'The Unity of the Book of Daniel', and 'Recent Discovery and the Patriarchal Age'. Prof Rowley follows throughout the method of which he is a master—he gathers the findings of other scholars, weighs them in his own balances, gives his own opinion (often with a sober '*non liquet*' on details), and adds numerous footnotes for experts. Like Prof North, though with a difference, he believes that the Suffering Servant is a *future* Deliverer; he still holds that Nehemiah preceded Ezra; he accumulates a formidable argument for the unity of the Book of Daniel; and so on. There is no need to say that every essay is an authoritative account of the present position of the problem with which it deals.

The New Testament, a new translation in plain English, by Charles Kingsley Williams (S.P.C.K., 8s. 6d.). I should like to 'pick a friendly bone' with Mr Williams about a rendering here and there, but there is only space to say that, having confined himself to some sixteen hundred common words, he has done his work with surpassing skill. This is the version for the man-in-the-street. The print is 'a sight for sore eyes'.

The Christ of the New Testament, by A. W. Argyle (Carey Kingsgate Press, 10s. 6d.). Here Mr Argyle, Tutor in Regent's Park College, Oxford, sets himself to show how all the New Testament teaching on the Incarnation, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Exaltation of Christ, is organically related to His Divinity. A very few questions arise—e.g., is not 'reconciliation' much more than a 'change of status'?—but the author has achieved his purpose. There is a good chapter on 'The Evidence for the Belief that our Lord Himself claimed to be Divine'. This is an opportune book.

The Lord's Supper in the New Testament, by A. J. B. Higgins (S.C.M., 7s. 0d.). In this lucid, comprehensive, well-documented, and judicial booklet the writer describes and discusses the opinions of other scholars on the various problems that attend his subject, and adds his own. The chapter on the Johannine question is *primum inter paria*.

The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers, by Leroy Edwin Froom, three volumes (Review and Herald, Washington, \$5.00 each vol.). In these massive volumes, which are not happy in their title, the writer gives us a detailed account of the interpretations of the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse of John down to the 'Advent Awakening' of the nineteenth century. He promises a fourth volume. He sets the various expositions in their historical background and adds some Judaistic studies under Daniel. He is a Seventh Day Adventist—holding, for instance, that the Papacy is Antichrist—but he has the calibre of the true historian. While one may doubt whether the subject is worth so detailed a treatment, the writer's range of research and his mastery of his vast materials are amazing. 'E'en the ranks of Tuscany can not forbear to cheer!' There are lavish illustrations throughout.

Salvation, by J. Scott Lidgett (The Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.). When I had read this masterly epitome of the doctrine of 'Salvation as proclaimed by Prophets, Apostles, and by our Lord Jesus Christ', I found myself thinking once more what a superb Theological Tutor our incomparable Nestor would have made.

Here I Stand: a Life of Martin Luther, by Roland H. Bainton (Hodder & Stoughton, 20s. 0d.). Dr Percy Scott, reviewing the American edition of this book in our issue

for January, 1951, wrote, 'This is likely to be the standard biography for many years'. It is enlivened by over a hundred woodcuts drawn from sixteenth-century sources.

Congregationalism, a Study in Church Polity, by Douglas Horton (Independent Press, 6s. 0d.). Dr Horton is a leader in American Congregationalism. In this book, quoting largely from seventeenth-century divines, he argues (a) that Congregationalism has never been separatist; (b) that it has always recognized that other Churches (even, today, the Church of Rome) are churches, because they consist of a union of 'congregations of faithful' Christians; (c) that every Church should recognize that this is true, and that it entails mutual support in a common enterprise; and (d) that such mutual support is the true kind of ecumenicity and the true way to reunion. A very able plea.

The Journal of George Fox, edited by John Nickalls (Cambridge Press, 21s. 0d.). For this edition of what is loosely called a 'journal', Mr Nickalls has collated the various manuscripts, incorporated letters (often dictated), added part of Penn's Preface and Ellwood's Conclusion, and so on. There is an Introduction by Dr Geoffrey Nuttall, and an addendum on the fifteen years after the end of the Journal by Dr Henry J. Cadbury. Words are occasionally modernized. This scholarly and definitive edition will supersede Ellwood's long-used redaction.

Methodist Preaching Houses and the Law, by E. Benson Perkins (The Epworth Press, 5s. 0d.). A new people—a place to meet in—trustees to hold the property—under the Toleration Act?—Trustees *versus* Wesley—Trustees *versus* the Conference—'Model Deeds' in all the Methodist Churches—the climax in 1932. This is the story that Mr Benson Perkins elucidates in this year's Wesley Historical Lecture. In his telling there is nothing dry-as-dust about it. He shows that law has served us well.

Two Friends, by Dora Greenwell (The Epworth Press, 7s. 6d.). One day, when I was a student at Headingley, Dr Shaw Banks, rubbing his beard into his chin by way of emphasis, told us that Dora Greenwell would help our devotions. I took the hint—and not in vain. Here is Dora's best book. As usual, Dr Bett's introduction is *informed*.

The Way of Prayer, a Book of Practical Guidance, by Francis B. James (The Epworth Press, 6s. 0d.). At the end of his book Mr James rightly says that 'the lesson of what prayer truly is and what, through prayer, life may become' is the 'greatest of all lessons'. While he quotes many of the masters, the reader 'senses' that the writer himself has long frequented their path. This is just the book for beginners—that is, for all.

The Church in the New Social Order, by Emil Brunner (S.C.M., 3s. 6d.). This is the Address given in March at the Cardiff Congress of the Free Church Federal Council. In it Prof Brunner elucidates his answer to the question: 'What is now the task of the Church, particularly in the Welfare State in Britain?' It is the right answer.

The Spiritual Basis of Democracy: The Living Way, by Henry T. Gillett, M.D. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 8s. 6d.). Here the writer, making a (not impeccable) survey of Christian history, seeks to show (a) that what might be called 'the religion of the Spirit' is the only basis for true democracy; (b) that the use of authority in the Church has always been, and always *must* be, the enemy of this religion; and (c) that this religion has its pure example in Quakerism.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

A Plain Account of Christian Perfection (reprint), by John Wesley (The Epworth Press, 7s. 6d.).

The Fact of Christ (reprint), by P. Carnegie Simpson (James Clarke & Co., 4s. 6d.).

La vie de l'Eglise naissante, by Philippe H. Menoud (Delachaux & Niestle, Neuchâtel, 3 frs. suisses).

La querion par la foi, by Georges Crespy (Delachaux & Niestle, 3 frs. suisses).

A Theological Interpretation of the Moral Play, 'Wisdom, Who is Christ', by John Joseph Molloy (Catholic University of America, Washington).

Sri Aurobindo and the Soul Quest of Man, by Nathaniel Pearson (Geo. Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.).

Contemporary Indian Philosophy, revised and enlarged edition, edited by Radhakrishnan and J. H. Muirhead (Geo. Allen & Unwin, 35s. 0d.).

Faith and Education, by George A. Buttrick (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, via The Epworth Press, \$2.00).

Jesus and His Teaching, Lessons on the Secondary Sections of the Agreed Syllabuses, by Norman J. Bull (Religious Education Press, Wallington, 7s. 6d.).

The Sabbath, Its Meaning for Modern Man, by Abraham Joshua Heschel (Farrar, Straus and Young, New York, \$2.75).

BOOKLETS AND PAMPHLETS

The Changing and the Changeless, Sermons by the late William Wallace (The Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.). . . . *The Book for the Hour—Then and Now I*, Broadcast Talks on the New Testament, by W. J. Coggan (Independent Press, 9d.). . . . *Co-operation between World Religions*, Essex Hall Lecture, by Rabbi Leslie I. Edgar (Lindsey Press, 2s. 0d.). . . . *The Racial Problems of South Africa*, by E. Russell Brayshaw (Friends House, 1s. 0d.). . . . *Faith and the Life Eternal* (Broadcasts), by John Huxtable (Independent Press, 8d.). . . . *Christ Within, the Inward Light*, by William E. Wilson (Friends House, 9d.). . . . *Social and Cultural Factors in Church Divisions*, a Faith and Order Paper, by C. H. Dodd and Others (S.C.M. Press, 2s. 6d.). . . . *Envoys of Peace*, the Bible Society's Popular Report, edited by J. Eric Fenn (Bible Society, 1s. 0d.).

NOTABLE ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

- Church Quarterly Review*, July-September (39 Welbeck Street, W.1, 6s.).
 Church and State (re Report of Church Assembly's Commission), by Lord Quickswood.
 The 'Edict of Milan': Curse or Blessing?, by John Bligh, S.J.
 Augustus Welby Pugin, by A. L. Drummond.
The Journal of Religion, April (University of Chicago Press, via Cambridge Press, \$1.85).
 Humanism and Christianity, by Rudolf Bultmann.
 (Bultmann's) Existentialist Interpretation of the New Testament, by Erich Dinkler.
 Time, Death and Eternal Life, by Charles Hartshorne.
The Hibbert Journal, July (Allen and Unwin, 3s. 6d.).
 In this 'Jubilee Number' ten articles are reprinted, the first being William James's 'Pluralism and Religion' (1908), and the last G. Stephen Spinks's 'Robert Hibbert and his Trust' (1948).
The Congregational Quarterly, July (Independent Press, 4s. 6d.).
 Simone Weil: a Study, by Melville Channing-Pearce.
 The Pope's Men (re the Church of Rome today), by Nathaniel Micklem.
 The 'Conversion' of P. T. Forsyth, by Robert McAfee Brown.
The Expository Times, June (T. & T. Clark, 1s. 6d.).
 Ephesians in the Light of Form Criticism, by A. Campbell King.
 Syllabus for Christian Humanists, by Charles Gimblett.
do, July
 The Epistolary Form in the New Testament, by R. L. Archer.
 Preaching and the Techniques of Contemporary Culture, by W. Fraser Mitchell.
 Recently-published Fragments of the Greek New Testament, by Bruce M. Metzger.
do, August
 The Gospel of the Glory of God, by C. H. Dodd.
 The Religious Significance of T. S. Eliot, by C. R. Walker.
 Christianity and Democracy, by John Foster.
do, September
 Motives for Goodness in the New Testament, by C. Leslie Milton.
 The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scroll, by H. H. Rowley.
 Philo and the Fourth Gospel, by A. W. Argyle.
Scottish Journal of Theology, June (Oliver & Boyd, 4s. 6d.).
 The Son of Man and History, by W. Manson.
 Making Christians by Sacraments, by Nils Johansson.
 The Word of God as Key to Christian Worship, by Peter Katz.
 Confirmation, by H. W. Turner.
 The Bride of Christ, by J. A. Motherwell.
The International Review of Missions, July (Oxford Press, 3s. 6d.).
 Articles describing the present situation in India, Japan, Thailand, the Congo, New Guinea, and the Gold Coast.
 The Visual Arts in the Younger Churches, by John F. Butler.

Studies in Philology, April (University of North Carolina Press, via Cambridge Press, \$2.50). A series of articles concerned with Renaissance studies, including *The Teaching of English in Tudor Grammar Schools*, by William Nelson; *The Ciceronianism of Gabriel Harvey*, by P. Albert Duhamel; *Drayton and the Countess of Bedford*, by Dick Taylor, Junior; Christopher Harvey's "The Synagogue" (1640) by A. C. Howell.

Our Contributors

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ERIC S. WATERHOUSE,
M.A., D.D., D.LIT.

Presbyterian Minister. Head of the Department of Divinity, King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Author of *The Structure of Life, Prophet and Nation, Divine and Human*, etc.

Methodist Minister. Served for five years in French West Africa; and since 1945 in Southern Rhodesia.

Methodist Minister.

Left Handsforth College in 1922 for missionary service in South China. Appointed to the staff of the Union Theological College, Canton, to teach Church History (1926). On return to Britain became Professor of Church History in the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham (1937). Appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow (1947). Author of several books on China, including *The Church of the Tang Dynasty* (S.P.C.K.), and on Church History, including *Then and Now, World Church*, and (September 1951) *After the Apostles* (S.C.M.)

Methodist Minister. Special studies (Trinity College, Cambridge): Philosophy and Education. Formerly Assistant Master, Taunton School. First Head Master, Haigh College, South China. Author of *Pilot Prayers*, etc.

First-class honours in Philosophy (1948): Campbell-Fraser Scholarship to Oriel College, Oxford.

Tutor in Hartley Victoria College and Lecturer in Christian Ethics at Manchester University for many years. Author of a number of works on Ethics, in line with the position taken in this posthumously published article.

Dean of Drew Theological Seminary and Professor of Homiletics. Ex-President of Religious Education of Canada and of Association of Methodist Theological Schools. Author of many books, including *Athanasius—the Hero*, *A Living Book in a Living Age*, *Synthetic Christianity*, and *Patterns of the Mind*.

Principal and Tutor in Systematic Theology and Philosophy of Religion, Handsforth College, 1925-40; President Methodist Church, 1929-30. Author of *F. H. Bradley*, and many books on Theology.

Educated at Loughborough and at Balliol. Resident for some years at Toynbee Hall, and also travelled in Italy. Has followed letters as a profession. Edited *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*. Among published books are: *The Mind of Leonardo da Vinci* and *Leonardo the Artist, Raphael Santi*, two volumes of Medieval and Renaissance Essays, and an attempt to arrive at the authorship of the Canadian Boat Song.

Senior Lecturer in Education at Westminster Training College. Author of *Living Education, Methodism and the Literature of the Eighteenth Century, Teaching—Begin Here, The Noble Art—a Boxing Anthology*.

Methodist Minister. General Secretary of the Council of Christians and Jews since its formation (1942); Secretary of the Christian Council for Refugees (1938-42).

Principal, Richmond College, 1929-40. Professor in Theology, London University, 1932-40. President, Wesleyan Methodist Conference, 1931. Author of many theological books.

Professor of the Philosophy of Religion in the University of London, since 1938. Lecturer in Philosophy, Richmond College, 1920; Principal, 1940. Author of numerous works, including *Modern Theories of Religion, The Psychology of Religious Experience, The Philosophical Approach to Religion*. Contributor to *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, and religious journals.

NEW BOOKS

THE ECUMENICAL CONFERENCE REPORT, 1951

Edited by Dr. Leslie F. Church, B.A.

Demy 8vo. Probably 17s. 6d. net

This volume contains in *extenso* the speeches, sermons and addresses delivered in connection with the 8th World Methodist Conference, held at Oxford in 1951. Its value as a complete record of that important gathering is even eclipsed by the intrinsic usefulness and inspiration of the papers themselves.

For an understanding of the present position, aims, beliefs and aspirations of the largest Protestant denomination in the world, a knowledge of the things contained in this volume is imperative.

THE THRONE, THE CRADLE AND THE STAR

By J. E. Rattenbury, D.D.

9s. 6d. net

With this book the author completes his purpose of furnishing studies for every Sunday in the Christian Year from Advent to Trinity. Careful attention to the events of the Christian Year brings order and form in place of the haphazard and desultory, and greatly enriches the devotional life by enhancing our understanding of the deep things of our Faith.

In the event, Dr. Rattenbury has given us *last* the volume which deals with the first events of the Christian Year, from Advent onwards. *The Adoration of the Lamb* has already provided guidance through Lent and Holy Week: *O'er Every Tree Victorious* covers the period from Easter to Trinity. It is difficult to over-stress the way in which these two earlier books have captivated the minds and hearts of the reading and preaching public; the same enthusiastic and grateful reception is ensured in advance for this third volume.

The Throne of Judgment, the Cradle of Bethlehem and the Star in the East, provide the themes for the present book, which furnishes studies from Advent to Epiphany up to the beginning of Lent.

A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF CHRISTIAN PERFECTION

By John Wesley

7s. 6d. net

This is a reprint in modern style and format of another of the Methodist Standards. 'Christian Perfection' or 'Perfect Holiness' was a mark of the Methodist Revival, and the doctrine showed unquestioned fruits for Christendom as a whole, for Methodism and the life of England. By holiness of life and doctrine 'the people called Methodists' steadily overcame the opposition, cruelty and persecution which arose from ignorance and prejudice. John Wesley sets down in this book 'a plain and distinct account of the steps by which I was led, during a course of many years, to embrace the doctrine of Christian perfection.' It is nothing more—nor less—than plain, Bible doctrine; and these careful pages still burn with the impassioned confidence that God commands only what He wills His servants to do. Hence the plain and critical challenge of these words for every thoughtful Christian.

'Can man be perfect?' 'What is meant by Perfection?' The answers are here.

THE EPWORTH PRESS

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NEW BOOKS

THE FOURTH HOMELY YEAR

By Ida and Leslie Church

15 pages of illustrations in photogravure, 7s. 6d. net

With their sure hold upon the strong and beautiful things of the life that abides, Ida and Leslie Church have long ago made for themselves a circle of grateful friends who rejoice as, day by day, and through the weeks of the year, they come upon the thoughts and prayers and poems which abound in the Homely Year books. Moreover, this circle is no closed thing, and each successive book brings a welcome and a benediction for those who are newly discovering this treasure, just as each book both carries on the former tradition (and, if possible, heightens it) and also brings to the heart some new treasure of loveliness.

Each week begins with a great text from God's Word, and the thoughts and sayings which follow are facets of the same jewel, until the week's reading and thinking is closed upon the heights of adoration and worshipful prayer.

This book will make friends like all its predecessors; words and pictures alike are instinct with the glory of God, and with the brave hopes and goodnesses, the pity and the love that God has placed in the hearts that love Him, for the encouragement of their striving fellows.

This is a beautiful book.

HUGH BOURNE

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